

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service



**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
MULTIPLE PROPERTY DOCUMENTATION FORM**

NATIONAL
REGISTER

This form is for use in documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Type all entries.

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

The Ethnic Historic Settlement of Shelby & Audubon Counties: 1860-1941

B. Associated Historic Contexts

Danish Immigrant Settlement: 1865-1924

German Immigrant Settlement: 1872-1940s

Ethnic Influence on the Architecture of Shelby and Audubon Counties: 1869-1924

C. Geographical Data

Shelby and Audubon Counties in the State of Iowa

See continuation sheet

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Planning and Evaluation.

[Handwritten Signature]
Signature of certifying official

8/13/91
Date

State Historical Society of Iowa

State or Federal agency and bureau

I, hereby, certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

[Handwritten Signature]
Signature of the Keeper of the National Register

10/3/91
Date

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.

E. The Ethnic Historic Settlement of Shelby and Audubon Counties:
1860-1941

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Introduction: Ethnic Emigration, Immigration, and Migration to Shelby and Audubon Counties.

For the purposes of this document, the ethnic historic settlement of Shelby and Audubon counties is herein defined as the persistent presence of persons who immigrated to the United States directly from a foreign country and persons of foreign birth who migrated to this region from other areas of the United States. It was beyond the scope and constraints of the grant-funded study from which this document was generated to consider the ethnic influence of the American-born descendants of these immigrants. Therefore, it remains for future investigations to examine the impact of ethnicity upon the first, second, and third generations and its potential manifestations in the architecture, archaeology, and cultural lifeways of the two county area. Potential ethnic properties are further defined as those buildings, structures, and sites associated with important trends in the historical development of ethnic communities. These trends include the manifestation of ethnicity in the religious, educational, and social culture, decorative arts, community development, agriculture, construction trades and industries, and building trends of the two county area. In this area, the most persistent and significant ethnic presence is that of the Danes and Germans who settled in this region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The terms emigration, immigration, and migration are herein defined as by the following: emigration represents movement from a country, immigration is movement to another country, and migration is movement within a country, such as from one state, city, or region to another.

The historic settlement of Shelby and Audubon counties began c. 1846 when the region was first opened to Euro-American settlement following the cession of the Iowa territory to the United States government by the Native American groups including the Pottawattamie, Sauk, and Fox. The government land survey of this area was begun in 1848 and completed in 1853, thus clearing the way for legal land sales. The earliest permanent settlements were made between 1848 and the early 1850s, primarily by Mormon settlers, some of whom were English and Danish. However, significant ethnic settlements did not occur until the 1860s, therefore, the period of significance for historic ethnic settlement begins with 1860. The end date of 1941 has been selected because that is the present, arbitrary cut-off date for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. Within this 81 year period, Shelby and Audubon counties were settled by a variety of ethnic groups. These groups immigrated and migrated to the two county area for a number of reasons, which will be outlined below; however, the primary attraction for initial settlement in two county area was agriculture and the fertile potential of the region's prairie lands and its timber-rich groves (Figure E1).

While specific ethnic groups were well represented among the area's settlers, the largest number were not recent immigrants but rather were native-born and had migrated from other areas in the United States as first, second, or more-generation Americans. For example, the early settlers of Monroe Township in Shelby County were of English descent, but had migrated from their home in Wisconsin to establish large farms in this township. The area in which they settled was commonly known as "Wisconsin Ridge" and differed in location and size from those of the early Danish and German settlers who preferred to

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establish smaller farms among the groves and valleys of the western portion of this township (Shelby County Historical Society 1976:198). The first settlement in Audubon County was also by a group primarily of English descent, but who were native-born and had migrated from Mahaska County eventually settling along Troublesome Creek in Audubon Township. Nathaniel Hamlin, the first permanent settler of the county, was among that group (Dunbar and Company 1889:639).

Other early native-born migrations into Shelby and Audubon counties included settlers from Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, New York, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and the eastern counties of Iowa (Moe and Taylor 1942:5, 14). According to census data, it was not until 1870 that ethnic groups other than the English were represented in notable numbers, and it was not until the 1880s that their numbers comprised percentages above ten percent of the total population (Table E1). The beginning date of 1860 for the ethnic historic settlement is to include consideration of the earlier English immigration and migration to this area. The totals in Table E1 indicate that the numbers of foreign-born between 1870 and 1880 largely reflects the influx of German settlers to the Catholic settlement of Westphalia Township in Shelby County, while the large numbers in the early 1900s reflect an influx of Danish immigrants. Tables E2 and E3 present a summary of the total foreign-born represented in the the 1885, 1905, and 1915 state censuses for Shelby and Audubon counties. These tabulations include only the largest ethnic groups represented in the censuses. These data indicate that the largest groups of foreign-born in the two county area between 1885-1915 were the Danes and Germans followed by the Irish, English, Canadians, Norwegians, Swedish, and Scottish, in descending order of frequency. These groups represent between 9-22% of the total population during the period 1870 to 1915 keeping in mind that these figures do not include those of ethnic descent who also lived in this area during this period. For example, in 1900 the total population of Shelby County was 17,932. Of this total, 3,387 were foreign-born, but of the 14,535 native-born, 6,627 were born of foreign parents, resulting in a total of 10,024, or 56%, being first generation American-born (Louis 1903:10-11). By 1915, 55% of the 16,692 total inhabitants in Shelby County were either foreign-born or the descendants of foreign-born or mixed parentage (Nollen 1989:2).

The data in Tables E1-3 further indicate that of the total foreign-born in Shelby County, the Germans represented 41% in 1885, 34% in 1905, and 32% in 1915, while the Danes represented 35% in 1885, 39% in 1905, and 50% in 1915. In Audubon County, of the total foreign-born, the Germans represented 33% in 1885, 31% in 1905, and 25% in 1915, while the Danes represented 37%, 58%, and 66%, respectively. As can be seen, the greatest concentration of German immigrants and migrants was in Shelby County in 1885 reflecting the development and influence of the Westphalia Colony and the Catholic Church. The Danish born comprised the majority ethnic group in 1905 and 1915 in Audubon County and in 1915 in Shelby County. These data reflect the growth and development of the Elk Horn and Kimballton communities and the rural settlement of the townships surrounding both communities.

It is interesting to note that in a comparison of the 1915 county history books for Shelby and Audubon counties (see White 1915 and Andrews 1915), the Shelby County book devoted a whole chapter to the European immigrants who settled the county discussing first, and in greatest detail, the Germans and the Danes, while the Audubon County book devoted a whole chapter only to the Danes, with

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Table E1. Foreign-Born Percentages in Shelby and Audubon Counties.*

Census Year	-----Audubon County-----			-----Shelby County-----		
	Total	Foreign-born	%	Total	Foreign-born	%
1860	428	26	6	778	40	5
1870	1,212	109	9	2,540	353	14
1880	7,448	870	12	12,696	2,419	19
1885	10,825	1,817	17	16,306	3,505	22
1905	12,937	2,553	20	17,097	3,505	21
1915	12,590	2,476	20	16,688	2,816	17

Table E2. Total Foreign-Born by Country of Origin in Shelby County.*

Census Year	-----Country of Origin**-----							
	Eng	Ire	Scot	Can	Nor	Swed	Ger	Den
1885	154	219	26	192	96	46	1,431	1,214
1905		29				42	1,173	1,362
1915		132	15	59	142	34	893	1,415

Table E3. Total Foreign-Born by Country of Origin in Audubon County.*

Census Year	-----Country of Origin**-----							
	Eng	Ire	Scot	Can	Nor	Swed	Ger	Den
1885	150	136	32	120	14	43	592	680
1905		69				42	786	1,469
1915		29	18	25	13	37	613	1,638

*Compiled by the Bureau of Historic Preservation from published census records.

**Includes only the largest ethnic groups represented--not all of the foreign-born.

little mention of other ethnic groups except in individual biographies. White noted in the 1915 Shelby County history that the German element had "contributed much to her well-being and prosperity, and many of them have in the past and are now serving [the county] well in posts of official duty," while the Danes were "frugal, industrious, and progressive" and comprised "a large proportion of the

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population of the townships of Clay, Monroe, Jackson, Center, Polk, and the eastern part of Douglas and the south part of Jefferson" (White 1915:126, 128). Similarly, Andrews (1915:295) noted in Audubon County that the Danes "have become an important factor in the affairs" of the county and that they "have represented the county in the Legislature, and in the county and local offices." He further noted that the Danes are:

patrons of schools and education. In politics they are remarkably independent about local affairs, generally favoring their own race of people. In this particular they are inclined to be clannish (Andrews 1915:295).

Figure E2 shows the location of the principal ethnic settlements in the state of Iowa. For comparison, Figures E3-6 illustrate where specific ethnic groups settled in the years c.1883-84 (both counties), 1911 (for Shelby County), and 1921 (Audubon County) in the two county area. These maps were compiled from census data on the nativity of the heads-of-household for each township and matching these data with landowners listed on the available county plat maps. While these maps cannot possibly represent every individual of foreign birth who settled in the two counties, they do give a good representation of where the ethnic groups tended to concentrate their settlements and visually demonstrate significant ethnic presences in both counties. For the Danish and German settlements, in particular, it is evident that they tended to concentrate in relatively well-defined geographical areas.

The following discussion will examine each ethnic group represented by notable numbers in the two county area, the reasons for their settlement, the places in which they settled, and influential individuals among their numbers. Significant personages are herein defined as those of foreign birth who were influential in the development and promotion of ethnic communities and those who were instrumental in the encouragement of other immigrants to settle in the region. Properties associated with the lives and contributions of such personages would be eligible for the National Register under this document.

English

In 1860 the English comprised the third largest ethnic group in Iowa numbering approximately 11,500 souls. By 1890 their numbers had increased to more than 26,000. They immigrated to the United States primarily to better their economic conditions, and many came to Iowa on the strength of advertisements, pamphlets, and lectures extolling the state's natural resources and agricultural potential (Calkin 1962:145-152, 170-171). However, the English immigrants were also attracted by the proselytizing of the Mormon church, and a number of the early English settlers in western Iowa were of that faith. In fact, English Mormons represent the first significant ethnic presence in Shelby County, although the early Mormons also numbered Danes and other groups among their congregations.

In Shelby County, the closest approximations to English settlements were at Leland's Grove in Cass Township and Galland's Grove in Grove Township (Figure E1). Galland's Grove was settled in 1848 and attracted some English Mormon settlers in the 1850s-1860s, while Leland's Grove was settled by a group of English Mormons between 1864-1869 (White 1915:108, 130-133). One reason for the

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number of Mormons among the earliest settlers was that several of the so-called "Mormon Trails" passed through this region. One such trail, from Des Moines to Kaneshville (now Council Bluffs) extended into the northeast corner of Audubon Township in Audubon County passing near the home of Nathaniel Hamlin on Troublesome Creek. Another trail crossed near the site of the Audubon County poor farm at Blue Grass Grove, while a third traversed the northern tier of townships including Viola, Cameron and Lincoln (Sklenar Publishing Company 1955). The latter two were on the direct route from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Galland's Grove in northwest Shelby County where a number of Mormons decided to settle, some of them English immigrants. Despite the fact that these trails crossed portions of Audubon County, few Mormons actually settled in that area, with the exception of John S. Johnston who settled in Audubon County in 1855. While some of these English Mormons remained in the two county area, many eventually moved on to Kaneshville (Council Bluffs) and Salt Lake City, although some returned to the area after becoming disillusioned with the church and Utah (Andrews 1915:68). Several churches of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) were established in the two counties, with the first organized at Galland's Grove in 1859. That congregation was active into the 1910s when it could no longer support the church; however, the church building, although now unused and derelict, is still owned by the RLDS church. For the most part, the early English Mormon settlements in western Shelby County failed to take permanent root, and by the early 1900s, they had been largely replaced by German Catholic settlements.

A significant personage among the English Mormon immigrants was Jonas W. Chatburn, who established the first flour mill in Shelby County at Harlan and also served on the County Board of Supervisors, as Mayor of Harlan, and as county coroner. Chatburn was also sent to England in 1873 on a commission from the governor of Iowa to serve as an immigration agent for Iowa in that country. As a result, he encouraged many English immigrants to settle in Iowa, some in Shelby County. He and his family were members of the RLDS church in Harlan (White 1915:131). At present, there are no known extant buildings directly associated with Chatburn in Shelby County. His residence in Harlan was recently razed, although it had not retained sufficient integrity to have been eligible for the Register. There is some potential for significant archaeological remains of the mills he built in Harlan and Shelby, a potential which should be examined by future investigations.

Irish

The Irish began to immigrate in large numbers to the United States in 1845 following the devastation of the potato blight and subsequent famine. Within six years, at least one million people had died from the famine, while another one and one-half million had left Ireland to escape the hardship. Many of these immigrants were peasants and poor laborers who settled primarily in Boston, New York, and other cities of the eastern seaboard. However, the great need for labor in the newly developing mines, railroads, and farmlands of Iowa soon attracted a fair number of Irishmen to this state in the late 1840s-1860s (Calkin 1964:33-53). The principal Irish settlements in Iowa were in Dubuque and Palo Alto counties (Figure E2).

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The Irish, like the English, were among the early settlers of both Shelby and Audubon counties, coming to this area primarily to establish farmsteads but also to work on the developing railroads and in the growing towns of the region. A number were attracted to western Shelby County because of the establishment of Catholic church communities in that region, even though the primary affiliation of those settlements was with German Catholics. The Irish settled in a number of townships all over the two county area, with the only concentrated settlement having been in Polk Township in Shelby County in an area commonly known as "Irish Ridge." However, like the English "settlements," this was a small enclave primarily consisting of four families. Washington and Cass townships in Shelby County and Cameron Township in Audubon County also received notable numbers of Irish immigrants, some settling in areas also known locally as "Irish Ridge" (Figures E3-6), but none of these Irish settlement areas persisted as cultural "islands" where native cultural traditions and a cohesive ethnic identity could be maintained (Moe and Taylor 1942:18; White 1915:129-130).

Prominent among the Irish immigrant settlers of the two county area was Thomas McDonald, who established the town of Corley, served two terms as the county treasurer, and "was one of the prime movers for the building of a branch of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific railway into Shelby County and Harlan" (White 1915:129-130). However, none of the Irish immigrants in this area qualify as significant personages under the above definition because there was no cohesive and persistent Irish ethnic community nor did any of their number appear to be influential in encouraging significant numbers of Irish to settle in this region.

Norwegian and Swedish

Beginning in the 1840s a large number of emigrants were induced to leave Norway primarily because of a dearth of tillable land to support the country's burgeoning population. While land conditions were somewhat more favorable in Sweden, that country's population was also far greater. As a result, between the 1840s-1880s, when Scandinavian immigration to the United States peaked, hundreds of thousands of Norwegians and Swedes headed for America and its newly developing farmlands in the Midwest. The Norwegians settled in larger numbers in Wisconsin and Minnesota, while the Swedes concentrated in Illinois and southern Minnesota (Bergmann 1956:134-136, 145-147). Despite their concentrations in other Midwestern states, a significant number of Norwegians and Swedes did eventually settle in Iowa, many migrating from southern Wisconsin, Minnesota, and northern Illinois. The principal Iowa settlements of Norwegians were located in Winneshiek, Monroe, Wapello, and Story counties, while the Swedes settled primarily in Webster, Boone, Montgomery, Henry, and Page counties (Bergmann 1959:289-303) (Figure E2).

Norwegians and Swedes were also among the ethnic groups to settle in Shelby and Audubon counties, although these settlements were small and dispersed compared to the Danish settlement of this region. Norwegians settled in Polk, Lincoln, and Douglas townships in Shelby County, with the largest concentration being that in Polk Township (White 1915:128-129). This settlement was established between the 1870-1880s by Norwegian migrants "in search of a better home and a new economic future," (History Book Committee 1981a:144) having come by way of a Norwegian colony in the vicinity of the Fox River in Illinois as well as from

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near Marengo, Iowa, in Iowa County (Moe and Taylor 1942:5). These settlers had come from the west coast of Norway because the land was too crowded and there were few economic opportunities, particularly for the younger sons of farm families who could not inherit land under the "odel" system. Ironically, they ended up leaving the Fox River settlement in Illinois because it too had become overcrowded (Itse 1940).

The Polk Township settlement was commonly known as "Danway" and came to include a rural school, a Norwegian Lutheran Church, and a creamery. While not exclusively Norwegian, there were Danes among their number, this settlement was predominantly Scandinavian in composition. The church, known as St. Paul's, was organized in 1881 and was later moved into the nearby town of Irwin. Norwegian language church services were held until 1940. The creamery, known as the Danway Separator Creamery Company was organized as a cooperative enterprise in 1887. A Danish immigrant was the first buttermaker; therefore, while the creamery served the Norwegian rural community it was more correctly a Danish enterprise (Shelby County Historical Society 1976:182-183, 210-212). Ole Johnson was among the early Norwegian settlers in the Danway rural community and he established a successful farming enterprise on which he constructed one of the area's largest and finest homes. Some measure of his success has been attributed to the fact that he came from eastern or inland Norway where farming was somewhat more successful than in the western portion where fishing was an important sideline to farming. Therefore, he had something of an advantage over some of his neighbors who had emigrated from Norway's west coast (Itse 1940).

Scotch and Welsh

The Scotch and Welsh immigrated to the United States for many of the same reasons as the English, prompted by advertisements, pamphlets, and earlier immigrants who induced others to follow their lead. Scottish newspapers aided in the immigration to Iowa by publishing glowing accounts of the opportunities to be had there. Laborers from both countries were also attracted by the developing coal mining industry in Iowa and other states (Calkin 1962:174-178). The principal Scottish settlements in Iowa were located in Wapello and Polk counties, while the Welsh settlements were largest in Davis, Lucas, Mahaska, and Polk counties, all of which had extensive coal mining operations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Figure E2).

Both ethnic groups were represented among the settlers of Shelby and Audubon counties, but were low in number and dispersed in settlement. The Scotch were among the early settlers of Monroe, Union, Douglas, Washington, and Shelby townships in Shelby County, with Welsh immigrants among the settlers of Shelby and Lincoln townships in that county. Prominent among the Scottish settlers of Shelby County was Alexander Maxwell, who was the superintendent of the county poor farm for several years (White 1915:133).

In Audubon County, an influential Scottish immigrant was George B. Russell, who established dry goods stores in Exira and later in Audubon where he erected the Russell Building, a brick block that housed an opera house on the second floor (Dunbar and Company 1889). However, as with the Irish immigrants, the Scotch did not settle in concentrated ethnic enclaves or communities, and therefore individual Scottish immigrants in Shelby and Audubon counties do not qualify as significant personages under this document.

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The most numerous ethnic group to immigrate to Iowa was that of the Germans, with nearly 36,000 arriving by 1860 and peaking by 1890 when their numbers reached 127,246 (Calkin 1962:153). German immigration to the United States was influenced by political oppression, internal strife, the desire to avoid military service, by advertisements sponsored by the Catholic Church and immigration agents, and by letters of encouragement from relatives already in America. A great number of the German immigrants who settled in Iowa had left their homeland as refugees from the oppressive conditions they endured as a result of political upheavals. The first such influx came after the failure to establish an independent state of the regions of Slesvig and Holstein through a rebellion against Denmark in 1848-1850, the result of which was that many German Holsteiners and Slesvigers emigrated from that region. Slesvig, a Danish Province, had been united with Holstein as part of the German Confederation until the war with Denmark which resulted in the takeover of both regions by the Danish government. Many of the resident Germans chose to emigrate rather than bend to Danish rule. This situation was reversed when Denmark lost the region to Prussia in 1864. Following this upheaval, Danish Slesvigers began to emigrate from the region because of their dissatisfaction with German rule. It is ironic that both Danish and German Slesvigers would settle in Scott County, primarily in Davenport (Christensen 1945, 1952:72-73; Herriott 1930).

It is interesting to note that until recently there remained an underlying animosity, sometimes bordering on hostility, between Danish and German immigrants and their descendants who had settled in relatively close proximity to one another. This undoubtedly was rooted in the historical conflicts between their native countries. The animosity was most often expressed in the simple avoidance of social contact and interaction, while on rare occasions, primarily during World War I, there were more open expressions of hostility (Nollen 1989). The relationship between the two ethnic groups was never more confused than with the contested border region of Slesvig-Holstein. An interesting example of this is to be found in Davenport, Iowa, which was settled by a high percentage of Germans and Danes who had immigrated from Slesvig-Holstein and lower Denmark. This mixture resulted in:

a curious ritual, developed over the years, in which the Danes would observe a long-distant victory over the Germans in Slesvig-Holstein by staging a parade through Davenport which ended in a picnic in the central park. The Germans would line the streets on this occasion and do their best to disrupt the pomp and ceremony with jeers, laughter, and the usual friendly insults. When the Germans staged their parade and picnic celebrating one of Germany's victories over Denmark, however, the roles were naturally reversed (Goetsch 1973:20-21).

As noted above, German immigration in large numbers to the United States began in the decade following the collapse of the 1848 revolution when thousands of Germans left their homeland to escape internal economic, religious, political, and social oppression. Among other reasons for German immigration were avoidance of compulsory conscription and lengthy military service and the desire to improve their lot in life as well as that of their children. However, war continued to play a role in German immigration throughout the late nineteenth

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and early twentieth centuries including the wars against Denmark and Austria in the 1860s, the Franco-Prussian War in the 1870s, and the two World Wars. The German settlement of Shelby County was influenced by yet another factor, that of advertisements aimed specifically at German Catholics for the purpose of establishing Catholic communities. The German colony in Westphalia Township owed its origin to just such a campaign (Calkin 1962:153-154, 156; Hartman 1989:7-12; Petersen 1955:101).

Germans had settled throughout Iowa by 1870, with the largest concentrations in the eastern counties of Scott, Dubuque, Clinton, Clayton, Lee, and Des Moines. These counties continued to hold the lead by 1890, although by that time there were also sizable German concentrations in the western counties of Pottawattamie, Crawford, Carroll, and Plymouth. By 1920 the largest concentrations of German born immigrants lived in Scott, Clinton, and Dubuque counties (Calkin 1962:153, 174-175). There were relatively few German settlers in either Shelby or Audubon counties before 1870; however, their numbers increased substantially in the 1870s-1890s largely because of the efforts of the German Catholic Church and the success of the Westphalia colony in Shelby County. Early German settlements in that county tended to concentrate in Westphalia, Shelby, Fairview, Monroe, and Greeley townships, while subsequent German immigrant settlements spread into Cass, Washington, and Union townships (Figures E3 and 6). German immigrant settlement in Audubon County concentrated primarily in Lincoln, Audubon, Douglas, Leroy, and Cameron townships (Figures E4 and E5).

German immigrants who had settled in Iowa by 1860 had come from the following Germanic states: Prussia, Bavaria, Austria, Baden, Hesse, Wurtemberg, and Nassau, in descending order of frequency (Petersen 1955:101). In Shelby and Audubon counties, the Germanic states or provinces most often noted in the censuses included Prussia, Bavaria, Austria, Holstein, Slesvig, Luxembourg, Micklenburg, Hanover, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Oldenburg, although some of the Slesviggers were more correctly Danish. The confusion of whether or not a listed Slesviger in the two county area was actually Danish or German was clarified by the listing of these individuals in subsequent census enumerations where individual provinces were not listed and the person had to state a general country of origin. There were only a few instances where someone was identified in a census as a German but was noted in other sources as a Dane.

The 1880 U. S. Census for Westphalia Township indicated that the majority were from Prussia, Bavaria, Luxembourg, and Austria, while in Shelby Township the provinces of Holstein, Slesvig, Micklenburg, and Prussia were represented among the early German immigrants (1880 U. S. Population Census). It is known that in the Westphalia colony there were two "factions" comprised of those who had hailed from Bavaria and those from Westphalia which is generally represented in the census as Prussia. The early settlers of Portsmouth were predominantly from the area around Cologne and named the first German settlement of Cass Township after that area, while many of the first German settlers in Earling hailed from Luxembourg (Mid-States Atlas Company 1965).

Further analysis of the 1880 census data from Westphalia Township indicates that of the 591 persons enumerated in this census, 304 (51%) were foreign-born, 284 (48%) were native-born with one or both parents of foreign birth, and only three

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(1%) were native-born of native-born parents. Of the foreign-born, 294 (97%) were of Germanic origin, while the remaining ten (3%) were from Switzerland (n=2), Holland (n=2), Ireland (n=2), England (n=1), France (n=1), Poland (n=1), and Bohemia (n=1). The majority of the German-born were listed as being from Prussia (n=178). The next highest numbers were from Bavaria (n=46), Luxembourg (n=39), and Austria (n=19). Finally, of the native-born with one or both parents of foreign birth, 275 (97%) had one or both parents of Germanic origin, primarily from Prussia. It was because of this high concentration of German immigrants within Westphalia Township, and further because it represented the earliest German Catholic colonization effort in Shelby County, that this township was targeted by the field survey for the highest level of effort concerning the investigation of German immigrant settlement in the two county area.

The attraction of German immigrant settlement to Shelby and Audubon counties was the availability of relatively cheap and fertile agricultural land and the lure of settling among those of the same faith. The initial German settlement in Shelby County was founded in the early 1870s by the Catholic Church through advertisements in the German language newspapers of the United States and in the papers of Catholic communities in Germany. German immigrant, Emil Flusche, served as land agent for the church and the railroad, with a one-dollar per acre commission, fifty cents of which went to the construction of a church, for all German Catholics who settled permanently in the area. By 1875 this promotion had attracted over 200 German Catholic settlers to Westphalia Township and involved the sale of over 10,000 acres to actual settlers. Once the initial core settlement was made in Westphalia Township, further settlement was encouraged by friends and relatives who wrote home to urge others to immigrate. The Catholic Church would dominate the growth and development of the Westphalia settlement throughout its history and would expand into surrounding townships and newly developing towns through the establishment of Catholic mission churches. While the presence of the Roman Catholic church in the two county area did attract other immigrant groups such as the Irish, the majority of Catholic immigrants were German (Nollen 1989:1-4).

German Protestants, primarily Lutherans, also settled in the two county area, particularly in southwestern Shelby County and northwestern Audubon County, but these groups tended to settle in comparatively heterogeneous communities, and nowhere in the two county area is the German ethnic influence as strong as it is in the Catholic communities of Shelby County. The importance of the Catholic Church to the maintenance of the German ethnic identity is best illustrated in the town of Westphalia, the very core of that ethnic community. The town was founded with the sole intention of being a German Catholic community. As it developed, the Catholic Church was the only church to serve the community and its influence permeated all facets of the community's social, educational, and political development. The depth of this influence is evidenced by the fact that no other social organizations were ever established in this town outside of those associated with the church which actively discouraged secret, secular organizations such as the Odd Fellows and the Masons. Further, there was never a secular public school in the community, the only schools being those established and operated by the church. The community's ethnic identity was strengthened and nurtured by the church in a relatively isolated situation because the railroad never reached Westphalia, leaving it an "island" among

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communities that were directly tied by rail to other, more mixed communities, and therefore, mixed cultural influences. As a result, the German Catholic community of Westphalia was able to resist total assimilation to a much greater degree than other areas of German settlement in the two county area. However, the Catholic mission communities of Earling, Portsmouth, Defiance, and Panama were able to maintain strong German ethnic identities through the dominating influence of the Catholic church despite "outside" influences.

It has been noted that:

Over fifty percent of [Harlan] stores and shops were operated by Germans and Danes. While the Danish involved themselves in community-wide business organizations such as banking, insurance, and telephone boards that reached beyond their ethnic group, the majority of Germans typically restricted their activity to ethnically-based associations such as religious organizations, including the Catholic "Holy Name Society" for males and "Rosary Society" for females. While the Danes appear to have become more assimilated by established American institutions that existed in more heterogeneous communities, the Germans may have experienced greater ethnic cohesion due to their nearly exclusive support of religious organizations within predominantly homogenous areas (Nollen 1989:6-7).

However, the difference between the Danes and the Germans on the question of assimilation is one of degrees, with both groups maintaining recognizable and persistent ethnic cultural traditions well into the twentieth century. One way in which this was manifested was in the usage of native languages in the ethnic settlements of the two county area. In the predominantly German communities, the majority of the local schools (many of them parochial schools) included a German language course well into the 1900s. In fact, the Defiance and Westphalia schools included German classes until World War I and the backlash from Iowa Governor William Harding's proclamation against the use of foreign languages in public places helped to diminish the popularity of these classes. Much the same is true of the Danish immigrant communities of the two county area where the educational system included schools where Danish language and cultural traditions were part of the curriculum. The German and Danish churches of the area also featured the use of their native languages in services until World War I, with some maintaining the tradition into the 1940s or later (Nollen 1989:12-15).

The effects of anti-German sentiment and Governor Harding's proclamation during World War I did have an impact on the German ethnic communities of the two county area. Members of these communities did become more dispersed throughout a larger portion of Shelby County following the war, while some of the traditional German Catholic strongholds, including east Washington and west Douglas townships, received greater numbers of non-German landowners. It has been suggested that this shift in geographic distribution indicates "a greater degree of assimilation for Germans who lived in more heterogeneous areas, such as Washington, Lincoln, and Shelby townships" (Nollen 1989:41); however, despite some degree of increased assimilation the German community did manage to:

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retain many traditional aspects of its ethnic culture. While people in the predominantly German communities of Earling, Westphalia, Panama, and other communities spoke less of their native language after the war, they still practiced the Catholic religion and held the same community celebrations such as picnics with beer gardens and huge wedding feasts and dances (Nollen 1989:48-49).

The contributions of the German immigrant settlements to the development of the two county area is most tangible in the history of Shelby County. The settlement, growth, and religious, educational, social, and economic development of western Shelby County was predominated by the influence of German Catholics and the institution of the church itself. Significant personages included Emil Flusche, who was instrumental in the founding and promotion of the Westphalia German Catholic colony and Father Hubert E. Duren who was instrumental in the revival and survival of the Westphalia community in the early twentieth century.

The manifestation of the German ethnic settlement of Shelby and Audubon counties is significant only at the local level with properties achieving significance through National Register Criterion A--associations with events that made significant contributions to the development of the German ethnic communities, specifically the predominance and influence of the Catholic church; Criterion B--associations with significant personages who were instrumental in the development and promotion of the German Catholic communities; and/or Criterion C--embodiments of the German predominance in significant local construction trades and industries in these communities which are manifested in a number of the buildings and structures of the German settlement area through the work of German immigrant craftsmen. There is likely some potential for archaeological resources associated with the German settlement area that could achieve significance through Criterion D; however, that potential could not be explored within the constraints of the present study. The German ethnic settlement is significant only at the local level because it does not constitute the largest or most persistent German ethnic settlement in the state of Iowa or the nation. It should be further noted that the present physical manifestation in the two county area represents only the remnants of that ethnic settlement. This is concluded from the results of the field survey and research conducted in the German Catholic settlement areas where it was found that the historic buildings associated with this ethnic settlement, particularly those of the farmsteads, have been adversely impacted by subsequent construction and destruction and therefore represent only the remnants of the German ethnic resources that were once present in this area.

Danish

During the period from 1865 to 1914, over 300,000 people emigrated from Denmark. Although this represents only a small proportion of the total European emigration, it was a significant proportion of the total Danish population. Like other parts of Europe, Denmark was overpopulated in the rural areas, with land usually handed down to the oldest son, leaving younger children landless. As a result, they and small landholders were forced to work as day laborers on other farms to try to earn a living. Many of these landless became migrants, often moving first to urban areas in search of work, sometimes gaining skills

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and experience in a craft or trade, and eventually emigrating. Emigration represented the loss of many of the youth in the society (Damm and Thornsohn 1986:13-14).

In addition to the problem of land scarcity, Europe's rural population was impacted by changes in agricultural production. Huge increases in grain production in the United States, South America, and Russia flooded the market making European grain unprofitable. In Denmark this was compounded by the loss of two-fifths of its total area and much of its best agricultural lands to Prussia following the 1864 war. However, this loss "instigated an effort to cultivate the moors and other marginal farmlands" (Mackintosh 1988:46) of Denmark and forced Danish agriculture to adapt by marketing grain through pork, poultry, and dairy products. In addition to shifting to the production of these more profitable items, farmers organized into cooperatives that became instrumental to the successful marketing of agricultural products. For a time, these adaptations served to decrease the number of emigrants from Denmark, but the problems of poverty, scarcity of land, and the lure of cheap land in America following the passage of the 1862 Homestead Act increasingly encouraged emigration (Mackintosh 1988:46-47).

Another important economic aspect of emigration was the desire for higher wages. In Denmark, the cost of living was higher and wages were lower than what a farm worker or craftsman could expect to earn in the United States. Workers were drawn by the expectation of earning 150-300% higher wages in the United States (Nielsen 1981:39).

Political considerations also played an important role in the decisions of many to emigrate. After years of dispute between Denmark and Prussia, Denmark was defeated in 1864 and was forced to relinquish its claim to the border region of Slesvig-Holstein. The people living in the ceded territory were predominantly Danish in their loyalty, language, and customs. Much of the population objected to the use of the German language and the compulsory military service. Many chose to emigrate. It has been estimated that more than one third of the 150,000 inhabitants of Slesvig-Holstein emigrated to avoid Prussian rule and the military draft (Damm and Thornsohn 1986:15). Emigration was particularly intense in northern Slesvig where the Prussians were most oppressive in their efforts to exert their influence. The Germans made relatively little effort to hinder emigration because it weakened Danish influence and left the area more open to German settlement (Petersen 1987:28).

Religious reasons influenced some Danes to emigrate. The overwhelming majority of Danes who professed a religion identified with the Lutheran Church. Until the constitution was changed in 1849, religious differences were not tolerated, and those with other religious beliefs often emigrated. Even with the greater religious tolerance of the new constitution, members of minority religious groups such as the Baptists continued to emigrate. The Mormons represented the largest group of religious emigrants from Denmark. This movement began when two Danish brothers, Peter O. and Hans Christian Hansen were converted to the Mormon faith while in America. They and other Mormon missionaries returned to Denmark in the 1850s to proselytize. Arriving in Denmark shortly after the constitutional change granting religious freedom, the missionaries enjoyed considerable success in recruiting converts and immigrants to the Mormon "Zion"

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in Salt Lake City, Utah. The immigration was usually financed by the Mormon Church often on ships chartered by the church. Thus, some of the poorest Danes to immigrate did so under the auspices of the Mormon Church (Petersen 1987:28). Between 1868 and 1900, the Danish government gathered a mass of information concerning emigrants. It should be noted that the period, 1868-1900, represents only a portion of the entire period when Danes were emigrating in large numbers, although this was the period when emigration reached its highest numbers. Data on 170,000 Danes, representing 90% of the total Danish emigration during the 1868-1900 period, has been computerized and provides a rich resource for understanding the immigration phenomenon. In Flight to America, Kristian Hvidt analyzed the following information about the emigrants: year and month of departure, sex, traveling alone or in a group, occupation, age, last place of residence, and destination (Hvidt 1975:4).

Table E4 shows Danish immigration to the United States by decade. As can be seen, few Danes immigrated before the 1860s. Danish immigration in general peaked in the 1880s, with numbers dropping off after that decade, although there was a second resurgence in immigration in the early 1900s. Following the change in United States immigration laws in 1924 when quotas were established, Danish immigration to the United States declined to a fraction of its earlier numbers. The chronological enumeration of Danish-born persons in the United States is as follows: 1850 = 1,838; 1860 = 9,950; 1870 = 30,098; 1880 = 64,196; 1890 = 132,543; 1900 = 154,616; 1910 = 181,649 (Hvidt 1975:165).

Table E5 shows the regions of Denmark from which people emigrated. The largest numbers were from Zealand and the islands, Copenhagen, and eastern and northern Jutland (Hvidt 1975:39). Figure E7 is a map illustrating the regions from which Danes emigrated by showing the number of emigrants per 1,000 from each region. Most of the migrants were from Copenhagen, southern Zealand, and the northern and southern portions of Jutland. Few emigrated from central Jutland and the rural sections of northeast Zealand.

From Hvidt's analysis of occupational and age data, it is evident that Danish emigration was a phenomenon that largely affected a population of young people, many from rural areas, who could barely earn enough to support themselves and who had little prospect of ever earning enough in Denmark to marry and support a family.

Table E6 presents a listing of emigration by occupation (Hvidt 1975:118). Forty-three percent of the emigrants were rural laborers who were the lowest paid rural workers. According to Danish government reports, large numbers of the rural laborers were in debt. Many lived in bleak conditions, spending nothing on education, with few purchasing anything except the bare essentials (Nielsen 1981:42). Twenty-six percent of the emigrants were domestic and industrial workers. As residents of provincial towns, their earnings were generally sufficient, although there was some indebtedness (Ibid.). For both the rural and urban lower class, income covered only the essentials, therefore, another baby, an illness, or unemployment could result in abject poverty or starvation (Ibid.:43). As noted in Table E6, 69% of the emigrants were from these marginal living conditions with little opportunity for advancement if they remained in Denmark.

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Table E4. Danish Immigration by Decades (from Nielsen 1981:34).

Decades	Total Number of Immigrants
1821-1830	189
1831-1840	1,063
1841-1850	539
1851-1860	3,749
1861-1870	17,094
1871-1880	31,770
1881-1890	88,132
1891-1900	50,231
1901-1910	65,285
1911-1920	41,983
1921-1930	32,430
1931-1940	2,559

Table E5. Distribution of Danish Emigration by Main Regions, 1868-1900 (from Hvidt 1975:39).

	Counties	Regions
Copenhagen		31,799
Northern Zealand	11,892	
Southern Zealand	16,992	
Lolland-Falster	13,550	
Bornholm	5,055	
Zealand + islands		47,489
Funen		18,112
Eastern Jutland	28,646	
Northern Jutland	28,438	
Southwestern Jutland	10,582	
Total Jutland		<u>67,666</u>
All of Denmark		<u>165,066</u>

Table E6. Emigration, 1868-1900, for Principal Occupations (from Hvidt 1975:118).

Trade	Number	% of Total Emigration
Independent farmers	3,806	3.4
Rural laborers	47,656	43.2
Shipping and fishing	1,699	1.5
Commerce and professions	8,590	7.8
Craftsmen including apprentices	20,487	18.5
Domestic and industrial workers (urban)	28,174	25.6
Total	<u>110,412</u>	<u>100.0</u>

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Table E7 presents a closer examination of the 47% who came from rural areas. These data reveal that these emigrants were almost exclusively poor, although some did own small tracts of land. Smallholders were those who owned small amounts of land, usually not enough to support themselves. They were usually forced to work as farm laborers for others in order to support themselves and their families. Table E7 shows that almost all were rural laborers and smallholders who worked part-time as rural laborers. These represented 50,027 emigrants, or 46% of the total emigrants and 99% of all rural emigrants during this period. The unskilled workers who emigrated from towns reflected a large number of young single women. Many of them migrated from rural areas to towns where they worked as domestics before eventually emigrating.

Table E8 presents a tabulation of emigration statistics concerning unskilled workers. Domestic service was poorly paid work which often required living in the employer's household, precluding marriage and a family. Furthermore, the 1849 constitution withheld the right to vote for servants who lived in their employer's household. Therefore, to enjoy the rights of full citizenship and marriage, people often fled domestic service by securing other employment or by emigrating (Hvidt 1975:117). Additional analysis of these data by Hvidt, suggests that people migrated from rural areas to towns and the city of Copenhagen prior to emigrating. Table E9 shows that more emigrants were born in rural areas than migrated from those areas. Conversely, more emigrants listed urban areas as their last place of residence than were born there.

Table E10 shows the age distribution for all emigrants between 1868-1900. Fifty-five percent of the emigrants were between 15-29 years of age, corresponding closely with the young adult single population in Denmark. At age 14, Danish youth completed their educations, were confirmed in the church, and took their places as adult members of their society. Most did not emigrate before they were confirmed (Nielsen 1981:33). On the other hand, most Danes did not marry until after the age of 29. The time between confirmation and marriage was the easiest and least expensive time to emigrate when one did not have the care and financial responsibility of a family. If families did emigrate, they tended to do so when the children were young. More than half of all children who emigrated were under the age of five. There were several reasons for this: first, children less than one year of age could travel with their parents at no cost; second, Denmark had a good public education system and parents valued that education, tending not to emigrate with their children once they had begun school (Nielsen 1981:35). In addition, it would have been difficult for older children to learn English and be successfully integrated into schools where only English was spoken, if such schools were available.

The age distribution of all emigrants during the study period reveals that only 21% were in the age range of 30-60 when they were likely to have been emigrating as families with children. Children represented 20% of the emigrants, while 1.3% were over the age of 60. The latter likely represented grandparents who joined their children who had previously settled in the United States.

Hvidt's data on emigration according to familial position confirm that most emigrants were single adults, representing 60% of all emigrants. Specifically, between 1868-1900, 41% were unmarried men, 19% unmarried women, 11% married men, 11% married women, and 18% children (Hvidt 1975:92). Throughout the period of

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Table E7. Rural Laborers and Farmers among Danish Emigrants, 1868-1900 (from Hvidt 1975:105, 118).

Type of Farmer	Number	% of Total Emigration
Landed proprietors (large estates)	78	0.07
Owner farmers	387	0.35
Smallholders	3,271	2.96
Other independent farmers (millers, gardeners, etc.)	70	0.06
Total independent landowners	<u>3,806</u>	<u>3.40</u>
Rural laborers	47,656	43.20
Total Rural Workers	<u>51,462</u>	<u>46.60</u>

Table E8. Emigration of Unskilled Workers from Towns, 1860-1900 (from Hvidt 1975:116).

Type of Worker	Number	% of Total Emigration
Urban workers and servants	15,076	8.8
Domestic workers	930	0.5
Female domestic workers	12,168	7.1
Total	<u>28,174</u>	<u>16.4</u>

Table E9. Emigrants Grouped According to Last Place of Residence and Birthplace, 1910-1914 (from Hvidt 1975:58).

	Last Residence	Birthplace	Arrivals/Departures
Copenhagen	22.1	12.3	+9.8
Towns, east Denmark	9.4	8.9	+0.5
Towns, Jutland	21.5	16.4	+5.1
Rural, east Denmark	16.5	18.8	-2.3
Rural Jutland	30.5	36.4	-5.9
Born abroad		7.2	-7.2
Total	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>+14.4</u>

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Table E10. Age Distribution for All Emigrants, 1868-1900 (from Hvidt 1975:73).

Age	Actual Figures	Percent
0-4	17,297	10.1
5-9	8,568	5.0
10-14	8,397	4.9
15-19	26,867	15.6
20-24	43,841	25.5
25-29	24,829	14.4
30-34	13,556	7.9
35-39	7,896	4.6
40-49	8,681	5.0
50-59	5,609	3.2
60-69	1,915	1.1
70-	318	0.2
age not stated	4,299	2.5
Total	172,073	100.0

emigration, the percentage of people emigrating in family groups declined. From 1871-1880, married couples with children accounted for 43% of the total Danish emigration during that period. From 1881-1890, they comprised 38.3%, declining to 29% during 1891-1900 (Hvidt 1975:93).

Although 69% of the emigrants were agricultural and domestic workers, a significant number were skilled craftsmen. Table E11 lists the number of skilled workers from industry and crafts and the percentage of the total emigration which they represent. Hvidt also analyzed data concerning emigrants in six selected trades (Table E12). The emigration of skilled craftsmen in the construction trades was particularly important to the building of houses and commercial buildings in the United States.

Nielsen suggests that skilled workers were encouraged to emigrate by reports of the much higher wages which they could expect to earn in the United States. People who had already found work in America wrote to their friends and relatives in Denmark about higher wages and the lower cost of living (Nielsen 1981:38). Nielsen's comparison of the wages of workers in Illinois with those in Denmark for various occupations in the early 1870s indicated that among the construction trades, painters in Illinois could have expected a 220% increase in earnings; carpenters, a 258% increase; and bricklayers or masons, a 361% increase (Nielsen 1981:39). As far as the cost of living was concerned, Nielsen's study found that some things were actually more expensive in Illinois than in Denmark, while others were less expensive (Nielsen 1981:41).

Nielsen further suggests that rural laborers and urban domestic and unskilled workers were also encouraged to emigrate by the prospects of higher wages. He compared earnings per year with expenses per year and, in all instances, the highest levels of earnings in Denmark fell below the highest levels of expenses

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(Nielsen 1981:42). Nielsen then compared wages of farm laborers and unskilled workers in Denmark with the wages paid similar workers in Illinois. It was found that farm workers in Illinois could increase their earnings by 142-194% over similar positions in Denmark. Female servants earned four times as much in Illinois as they could in Denmark. Common laborers who earned \$.60 per day in Denmark could earn \$1.58 per day in Illinois (Nielsen 1981:41).

An additional reason for the emigration of skilled craftsmen might be found in the fact that in Denmark in the 1860s, the monopolies which the traditional guild laws had allowed skilled craftsmen to form in the towns, were broken (Mackintosh 1988:67). This, coupled with the increase of industrialized mass-production and mechanization, resulted in less and less work for skilled craftsmen who often then had to emigrate in order to better their circumstances (Damm and Thornsohn 1986:14). The construction boom in the developing areas of the American Midwest served as a tremendous lure to such craftsmen.

Political considerations arising from the Danish loss of Slesvig resulted in extensive emigration from northern Slesvig. Between 1867-1910 nearly 60,000 people, more than one third of the population of that area, emigrated. Table E13 shows emigration numbers and rates from that region. Among emigrants from North Slesvig, even higher numbers were from rural farming backgrounds. In addition to the unattractive prospect of work as farm laborers, they faced compulsory service in the German military. If they migrated to urban areas in Denmark in search of work, they ran the risk that the Danish government would turn them over to German authorities as deserters. Consequently, many immigrated directly to America (Hvidt 1975:140).

Hvidt also analyzed data regarding the destinations of the Danish emigrants and found that 89% headed for the United States. Further analysis of United States census data indicated that Danish immigrants were widely dispersed with no state receiving more than 11% of the immigrants. Conversely, immigrants from other countries tended to settle so that their numbers were concentrated in one or several states. Table E14 shows the concentrations of foreign-born in the United States in 1910, while Table E15 shows where Danish immigrants settled from 1850-1900.

Analysis of data concerning the place of last residence of immigrants who settled in the four states with the largest concentrations of Danish immigrants indicated that immigrants from urban areas were under-represented in Iowa's population, while immigrants from rural areas were over-represented (Table E16). These data further show that the immigration to Iowa was primarily from Jutland, particularly from the region north of the Limfjord (Hvidt 1975:174).

While economic and political considerations propelled people from Denmark, they were drawn to the United States by the promises of land and higher wages. Over 300,000 Danes immigrated to the United States from 1865-1914 representing almost 90% of the total immigrants from Denmark. Some were lured by the promise of wealth by the 1849 California Gold Rush and the later discovery of gold in the Black Hills. Many more were attracted by the opportunity to obtain free land which the Homestead Act of 1862 provided. Others were religious converts seeking freedom to practice their beliefs. During the first half of the nineteenth century, relatively few Danes immigrated to the United States. The

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Table E11. Emigrant Skilled Workers from Industry and Crafts (from Hvidt 1975:107).

Type of Worker	Number	% of Total Emigration
Independent, crafts	415	0.2
Independent, commerce	1,386	0.8
Professions	155	0.1
Students	331	0.2
Clerks	1,568	0.9
Shop assistants	1,852	1.1
Other white collar	3,298	1.9
Journeyman	18,914	11.0
Apprentices	288	0.2
Total in commerce and industry	<u>28,207</u>	<u>16.4</u>

Table E12. Emigrants per 1,000 Craftsmen in Six Selected Trades, 1868-1900 (from Hvidt 1975:113).

Craft	Total Number in Each Trade	Emigrants 1868-1900	Emigrants per 1,000 Craftsmen of that type
Bricklayers	9,248	1,220	132
Joiners	11,074	2,116	191
Carpenters	8,846	1,907	216
House Painters	3,450	815	236
Smiths	11,962	3,253	272
Bakers	3,637	832	229

Table E13. Emigration from North Slesvig, 1867-1910 (from Hvidt 1975:139).

Years	Emigration Surplus	Population Average	Estimated Annual Emigration per 100,000
1867-1871	4,900	155,000	316
1871-1875	7,000	153,400	455
1875-1880	6,700	155,500	430
1880-1885	14,500	150,800	917
1885-1890	9,400	145,200	646
1890-1895	6,900	143,400	481
1895-1900	4,900	146,000	336
1900-1905	4,200	151,000	279
1905-1910	900	160,000	56
Total	<u>59,400</u>		

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Table E14. Concentrations of National Minorities in American States, 1910 (from Hvidt 1975:167).

Nationality	State	% of all Immigrants
Denmark	Iowa	10.4
	Wisconsin	9.6
	Minnesota	9.4
Sweden	Minnesota	19.6
	Illinois	16.9
	New York	6.9
Norway	Minnesota	28.6
	Wisconsin	16.1
	North Dakota	12.6
Germany	New York	14.9
	Illinois	12.2
	Wisconsin	9.6
England	New York	14.7
	Pennsylvania	12.5
	Massachusetts	7.9
Ireland	New York	24.2
	Massachusetts	14.1
	Pennsylvania	12.7
Italy	New York	35.2
	Pennsylvania	14.2
	New Jersey	9.1

Table E15. Danish Immigrant Settlement (from Damm and Thornsohn 1986:59).

State	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
California	92	1,328	1,837	3,748	7,764	9,040
Illinois	93	712	3,711	6,029	12,044	15,689
Iowa	19	661	2,827	6,901	15,519	17,012
Michigan	13	192	1,354	3,513	6,335	6,390
Minnesota	1	170	1,910	6,071	14,133	16,299
Nebraska	-	-	1,129	4,511	14,345	12,531
New York	429	1,196	1,698	3,145	6,238	8,746
Pennsylvania	97	234	561	945	2,010	2,531
Texas	8	150	159	489	649	1,089
Utah	2	1,824	4,957	7,791	9,023	9,132
Washington	-	27	84	296	2,807	3,626
Wisconsin	146	1,150	5,212	8,797	13,885	16,171

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Table 16. Danish-Born Immigrants to Four American States,* 1868-1900 (from Hvidt 1975:173).

Region in Denmark	Total Immigration	Wis	Minn	Iowa	Neb
Copenhagen	18.5	7.5	9.3	5.6	7.8
Urban Areas:					
in east Denmark	11.6	13.5	9.9	7.5	7.9
in Jutland	15.3	8.5	9.1	8.8	11.2
Rural Areas:					
in east Denmark	26.7	47.6	41.3	36.0	31.9
in Jutland	24.0	21.9	28.6	37.3	39.0
Slesvig and unknown	3.9	1.0	1.8	4.8	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* - Grouped according to last residence in Denmark and given in percentages.

earliest Danish settlements were concentrated in the Midwest in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Minnesota. Danes from these areas moved into Iowa, establishing settlements at such places as St. Ansgar, Cedar Falls, and Shelby County.

The first wave of Danish immigrants to arrive in Shelby and Audubon counties were Mormon converts who were headed for Salt Lake City, Utah, in the 1850s. Their route from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Kaneshville (Council Bluffs) took them through the two county area. Many made the difficult journey with handcarts, and progress across Iowa was discouragingly slow. Iowans along the trails generally treated the Mormons with kindness and many were persuaded to stop their journey and settle in Iowa, including a number of Danes (Christensen 1952:69). Some returned to Iowa from Utah after having become disillusioned with the schism within the Mormon church and established congregations of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints (RLDS).

Some of the first Danish immigrants had settled in Wisconsin in the late 1830s. These Danes were the first non-Mormon Danish immigrants to the United States (Nielsen 1981:101). Early Danish settlements in Wisconsin were located at Racine, the Milwaukee area, Green Bay, and New Denmark in Brown County. The largest rural settlement in Wisconsin was a cluster of small communities in Polk County, in western Wisconsin, including West Denmark, Luck, and Bone Lake. Although the Danish Baptists were the first to settle this area, the communities did not experience much growth until the Lutherans began immigrating in 1869 (Nielsen 1981:106).

Many Danes were encouraged to emigrate by letters from influential Danes living in the United States and known as the "American Letters." One such individual

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was Claus Laurits Clausen, a Danish Lutheran pastor who had been serving a group of Norwegians in Wisconsin since 1843. Clausen, who had been born in Aero, and his wife wrote letters which were then published in Danish newspapers (Nielsen 1981:101). Another individual was Lars Jorgensen Hauge, a Baptist who hoped to become a missionary among the Indians:

When he learned about the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862 he wrote a circular letter to fellow Baptists in Denmark about the advantages of the new legislation. The law impressed not only the Danish Baptists but made an enormous impact on the Danes in the next decades. 'Our earthly Conditions,' reported Hauge, 'are very good. The government is also very good and has recently passed a law by which each man can get 160 acres of land if he will settle on it' (Nielsen 1981:102-103).

The first Danes to establish permanent settlements in Iowa were migrants from Wisconsin. In 1853 Pastor Claus Laurits Clausen led a part of his Norwegian congregation and a few Danes to Mitchell County, Iowa, where they established the town of St. Ansgar (Christensen 1952:57-58; Hvidt 1976:249). The first settlement of sufficient size to support a Danish Church was at Cedar Falls, and in 1867 Pastor Clausen moved to Cedar Falls and established the Scandinavian Church Society. This became the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church and was the only Danish Church in Iowa until 1875 (Nielsen 1981:131). In 1865 Danish Baptists from New Denmark, Wisconsin, migrated to Cuppy's Grove in Shelby County. They were joined by emigrants from Denmark and created the first permanent Danish settlement in that county.

In 1868-1869 a number of Danes worked on the completion of the portion of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad between Des Moines and Council Bluffs. Many of these Danes worked out of the construction camp at Marne in Cass County. In 1869 nine of these Danes, Mikkel Rasmussen, Rasmus J. Rasmussen, Johannes Rasmussen, Ole H. Jacobsen, Ole Hansen, Christian Pedersen, Jens Simonsen, Lars Nielsen, and Peter Nielsen, bought the land in Section 16 of Jackson Township in Shelby County for \$1300 (Christensen 1952:78; Nielsen 1981:132).

The next fall Ole H. Jacobsen and his family, Mrs. Jacobsen's sister and her husband, Jens Morgensen, ten people all told, moved into a dugout ten by fifteen feet. They lived in this humble habitation the following winter, and the Jacobsen family lived there for seven years (Christensen 1952:78).

This Lutheran settlement and the Baptist settlement at Cuppy's Grove mark the beginnings of the largest rural Danish settlement in the United States (Christensen 1952:78). By 1890-1900 the Danish immigrant settlement of Shelby and Audubon counties was overwhelmingly the largest and most concentrated in the state of Iowa. Specifically, in 1890 the combined totals of Danish-born settlers in the two counties was 2,414, or 20% larger than the next highest total of 1,922 in neighboring Pottawattamie County. By 1900 the total Danish-born in Shelby and Audubon counties was 2,672, or 29% larger than the next highest total of 1,888 once again in Pottawattamie County (Bergmann 1956:158-159). Figure E8 shows the distribution of the Danish settlements in the state

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of Iowa in 1910, when the combined total of Danish-born in the two county area was 3,077, or 38% larger than the next highest total in Pottawattamie County, although by that time and into the 1920s there was also a substantial settlement of Danes in Black Hawk County, primarily in the city of Cedar Falls. It should be further noted that some of the Danes who settled in the neighboring counties of Pottawattamie and Cass, along the southern border of Shelby and Audubon counties, are connected with this Danish settlement area, and future investigations should expand the boundaries of this area to its full extension into these neighboring counties. The present investigation was restricted to Shelby and Audubon counties by the scope of work and the geographical limits of the project.

Great numbers of Danes were attracted to the United States by the organized attempts to recruit immigrants to settle the open lands of the Great Plains and the West. The passage of the Homestead Act was a major inducement to immigration. This Act gave government land to any head of family, widow, or single person over 21, who was a citizen or intended to become a citizen and actually settled the land. Such a person could receive 160 acres of land valued at \$1.25/acre or 80 acres valued at \$2.50/acre (Fulton 1870:57).

In 1864 Congress passed legislation to provide for a Commissioner of Immigration to prepare information to encourage European emigration. In 1869 the Iowa General Assembly appropriated \$5000 to create a Board of Immigration. Alexander R. Fulton, an experienced journalist, was appointed Commissioner of Immigration with the responsibility of writing material to recruit immigrants to Iowa. As a result, Iowa: the Home for Immigrants--Being a Treatise on Resources of Iowa, and Giving Useful Information with Regard to the States for the Benefit of Immigrants and Others was published by the Board of Immigration in 1870 (Fulton 1870:i, ii). This publication, produced in English, German, Dutch, Swedish, and Danish, was widely circulated in the United States and abroad. It extolled the quality of Iowa land and the availability of inexpensive railroad land. In 1856 Congress passed an Act giving the railroad odd numbered sections of land within 15 miles of railroad right-of-way. In 1864 these limits were extended to 20 miles, and the railroads were further granted all the unentered lands within that distance. The Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific railroad had large tracts of land in several Iowa counties including 160,000 acres each in Audubon and Shelby counties (Fulton 1870:48, 51). The publication noted that this railroad owned "large contiguous tracts of land: in some cases whole townships of six square miles...and can, therefore, present great and peculiar inducements for colonies or parties of friends desiring to purchase adjoining farms" (Fulton 1870:50). The railroad land was available for \$5-10/acre which was less than the cost of already settled land (Ibid.:51).

This publication also advertised the high wages which immigrants could expect to earn: farm hands, \$18-20/month; day laborers \$2/day; plasterers \$3.50/day; brick and stone masons \$3-4/day and carpenters \$2.50-\$3.50/day (Fulton 1870:71). Another Department of Immigration publication, Iowa Resources and Industries, stated that the average earning of a head of household in Iowa was \$786/year, while annual expenses were \$400 (Bushnell 1885:40).

Perhaps the strongest motivating factor for many immigrants was the personal ties with relatives and friends who had already immigrated to the United States.

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They sent letters home with glowing reports about America and expressing the longing to have loved ones join them (Hvidt 1976:170-2). Some of these ties and consequent patterns of settlement can be traced through the life stories of the Danes who settled in the communities of Shelby and Audubon counties.

Analysis of the 1900 United States Population Census reveals that the people living in Jackson Township in Shelby County were primarily Danish-born or of Danish descent. In 142, or 82%, of the 174 households, either the head or spouse was of Danish descent. In 129 of the households, both were of Danish descent. Among the 83 unrelated adults (i.e., servants, boarders, partners) living in Jackson Township households, the percentage was even higher, with 88% being of Danish descent. In 22 of the families in this township, the head and spouse were American-born to parents who were also born in the United States. The other families were of German, Irish, Canadian, and Norwegian descent.

An analysis of the 428 adults in Jackson Township included the "Head of Household," the "Wife," any "Servants," "Boarders," "Partners," and parents, in-laws, and siblings of the "Head of Household." Of the 428 adults, 329 had been born in Denmark or born to parents who had immigrated from Denmark. Thus, 80% of the adult population was of Danish descent. Furthermore, 58%, or 249 of the 428 adults, were born in Denmark. In 1900, 18 children living in 12 households were born in Denmark; however, only five of these were school-aged children who had immigrated at very young ages. It should be noted that while the number of immigrant children may seem low compared to the average statistics of Danish immigration in general, this analysis did not gauge how many persons had immigrated at a young age but by 1900 had left the family household and either established their own homes or were boarders in other households.

The Danish influence in Jackson Township was even more pronounced in the rural community of Poplar. Specifically, within the four square miles of Jackson #1 School District, the heads of all 20 households and all 14 unrelated individuals living in these households were of Danish descent. In fact, at the time of the 1900 United States Population Census, only three of the 190 people living in the Poplar area were not of Danish descent, including Philipena Schaufler (Mrs. John) Mattson, who was born in Baden, Germany; Martha Bonnett (Mrs. Chris) Rasmussen, who was born in Minnesota to German parents; and Johanna (Mrs. Rasmus P.) Rasmussen, who was born in Norway. Thirty-six of the 53 adults in the community, or 68%, had emigrated from Denmark, as did a 20-year-old and an adopted child still living at home. There were ten adults who were born in the United States to Danish parents and four who were born in Germany to Danish parents. Of the 14 unrelated individuals living in the households, seven were Danish immigrants and the other half were born to Danish parents.

The Danish immigrant influence in the two county area is most pronounced in those areas, such as in Jackson Township, where their numbers were concentrated and predominant (see Figures E3-6). Within this area, there were a number of communities, both incorporated and unincorporated, which were dominated by Danish immigrants and those of Danish descent. These include the incorporated towns of Kimballton and Elk Horn and the unincorporated rural communities of Poplar, Rorbeck, Prairie Rose, Jacksonville, Copenhagen, and Sharon. Within these communities, the religious, educational, and social organizations were influenced by Danish institutions and cultural traditions. The impact of the

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Danish ethnic group on the two counties as a whole is evidenced by their contributions to the development of the region's agriculture, most notably in livestock production and the establishment of cooperative creameries, and in the construction industries, including brickyards and cement factories.

It has been noted that compared to the German Catholic ethnic settlements of western Shelby County, the Danish immigrants appeared to have assimilated to a greater degree (Nollen 1989). However, compared to other ethnic groups, who settled in the two county area, the Danish settlement managed to retain a strong ethnic identity which persists to the present day. This identity was manifested in their church-affiliated schools and some public schools, such as the Danish Children's School in Kimballton, which taught the Danish language and cultural traditions well into the twentieth century; their cooperative institutions such as the creameries and insurance companies; their social organizations such as the Danish Brotherhood; their traditions including the annual celebration of the Danish Constitution Day; and their churches, particularly the Grundtvigian and pietistic factions of the Danish Lutheran Church whose schism was manifested in the social and cultural differences between Elk Horn and Kimballton.

Compared to Danish immigrant settlements in the United States in general, there does appear to have been a greater degree of ethnic cultural persistence in the two county area. Some of this may have to do with the cultural and social dynamism of the proximity of the two opposing factions of the Lutheran Church in this area. While the pietistic faction promoted greater assimilation in order to better spread their religious message, the Grundtvigians strove to preserve their Danish cultural traditions within their communities. To some extent, the influence and impact of the Grundtvigians in Shelby and Audubon counties might account for some measure of the greater retention of the Danish ethnic identity in this region. The recent selection of this area as the location for the National Danish Immigrant Museum recognizes not only this retention of ethnic identity but also the revival of interest in Danish ethnic heritage. The latter is evidenced physically in the importation of an authentic Danish windmill to Elk Horn where it now serves as an important tourist attraction in the state of Iowa; in the expansion and promotion of folk festivals such as the Tivoli Fest; and in the practice of redecorating their storefronts with "Danish" false half-timbering and imitations of tile roofing. It is hoped that the present study will give local residents a greater appreciation of how their Danish immigrant heritage is actually manifested in the buildings and other resources of this area, and steer them away from "Neo-Danish" architectural modifications which are adversely impacting the Danish immigrant influence reflected in these resources.

The persistence of Danish ethnicity in the two county area is a major element in the significance of the Danish settlement of Shelby and Audubon counties; however, added to this is the significance of this settlement as being representative of the Danish immigrant experience and settlement in the United States despite the somewhat higher degree of ethnic cultural persistence compared to Danish immigrant settlement in general. It has been shown that the Danish immigrant settlement in the state of Iowa is the largest in the United States. Furthermore, the Danish settlement in Shelby and Audubon counties constitutes the largest and most concentrated settlement of Danes in Iowa, thereby making this the largest and most concentrated rural Danish settlement in

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the country. For all of these reasons, the manifestation of the Danish ethnic settlement (i.e., immigrant arrival and settlement) of Shelby and Audubon counties is significant at both the state and national levels. It is further significant at the local level because this settlement comprised the largest and most concentrated ethnic settlement within the two county area and made important contributions to the historical development of this area.

The present investigation found that resources associated with the Danish ethnic settlement of Shelby and Audubon counties have retained a relatively high degree of integrity, particularly when compared to the scarcity of German ethnic resources in this region. Properties associated with the Danish ethnic settlement and possessing sufficient integrity can achieve significance through National Register Criteria A, B, C, and D.

Under Criterion A, Danish ethnic properties would be significant if they were representative of the Danish immigrant settlement of the two county area, the state, or the nation, or if they were associated with events that made significant contributions to the development of the Danish ethnic community at the local, state, or national level.

Under Criterion B, Danish ethnic properties would be significant if they were associated with significant personages who were instrumental in the establishment, development, and/or promotion of Danish immigrant settlement areas and communities. Among the known Danish immigrants who were significant personages at the local level are J. P. Sorensen, who established an early brickyard in Harlan and was influential in encouraging other Danish immigrants to settle in the area; Hans J. Jorgensen, who established the Danish community of Kimballton and was instrumental in its development; and Christian Jensen, who was among the first settlers of Clay Township in Shelby County and was instrumental in the establishment of the first Danish Adventist Church, the early settlement of Elk Horn Grove, and in the encouragement of other immigrants to settle in this area. These are but a few of the potentially significant personages at the local, state, and national levels associated with Danish immigrant settlement in the two county area.

Under Criterion C, Danish ethnic properties would be significant if they exemplify the work of skilled Danish craftsmen and/or the materials made by Danish-influenced construction industries, specifically those produced at the brick and cement factories of the Danish settlement area. A property may also achieve significance if it embodies the characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or design associated with Danish immigrant builders or building trends of the Danish settlement area.

Under Criterion D, Danish ethnic archaeological properties would be significant if they had yielded, or were likely to yield, information important in the history of Danish immigrant settlement. Particular significance would be attached to those properties which had the potential to yield information concerning early immigrant settlement patterns and/or information about immigrant lifeways not obtainable or preserved in other sources.

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Finally, there were representatives of other ethnic groups who settled in the two county area including individuals from France, Holland, Poland, and Switzerland. Canadians and Australians are also represented in the census data from the two counties and many of these were of English or Irish extraction (White 1915:133-134). As can be seen in Figures E3-6, these other groups were scattered and dispersed throughout the townships of the two county area. Other ethnic groups represented in very small numbers in the census data include Greeks, Croatians, Mexicans, Chinese, and Afro-Americans. The latter two groups were represented only by one or two families in each county, while the Greeks, Croatians, and Mexicans were represented by groups of males who were working as temporary laborers on the area's railroad and road construction and did not usually settle in either county. They were counted in the censuses as boarders in hotels, boarding houses, and individual residences. However, because none of these ethnic groups were represented in the two county area in significant numbers or concentrations, there are no personages from these groups in the two county area who qualify as significant under the definition of this document. The key here is in the persistence of ethnicity, and the contributions that individuals made which are associated with this ethnic persistence and/or ethnic communities.

While the historic settlement of Shelby and Audubon counties included a variety of ethnic groups, those that settled in scattered, sparse numbers among other ethnic groups or native-born, were more likely to assimilate quicker than those that came in greater numbers and settled in concentrations. There may be resources, particularly archaeological resources, in the two county area associated with these ethnic groups that are eligible for the Register; however, none of the properties recorded to date are so qualified. The present investigation found that of all the ethnic groups represented in the two county area, it was the Germans and the Danes who were able maintain to varying degrees their native culture and traditions longer than any other groups. Because of this, their impact on the region's architectural, cultural, and social history is far more tangible in the area's ethnic history and on the physical landscape than any other groups. For that reason, the specific historic contexts associated with these two ethnic groups are discussed below in further detail, and the properties being nominated under this document are associated with these two groups.

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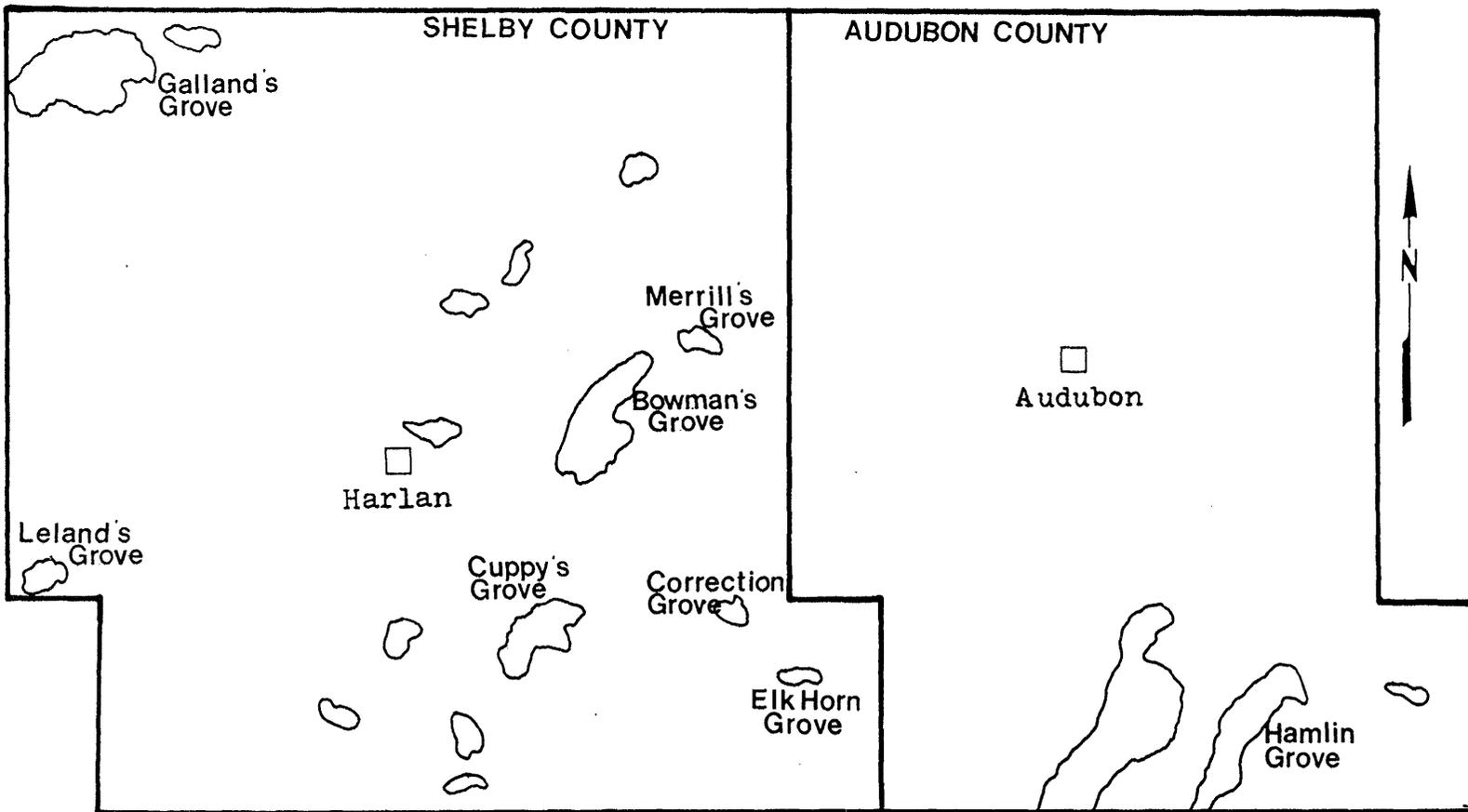


Figure E1. Location of Groves in Shelby and Audubon Counties.

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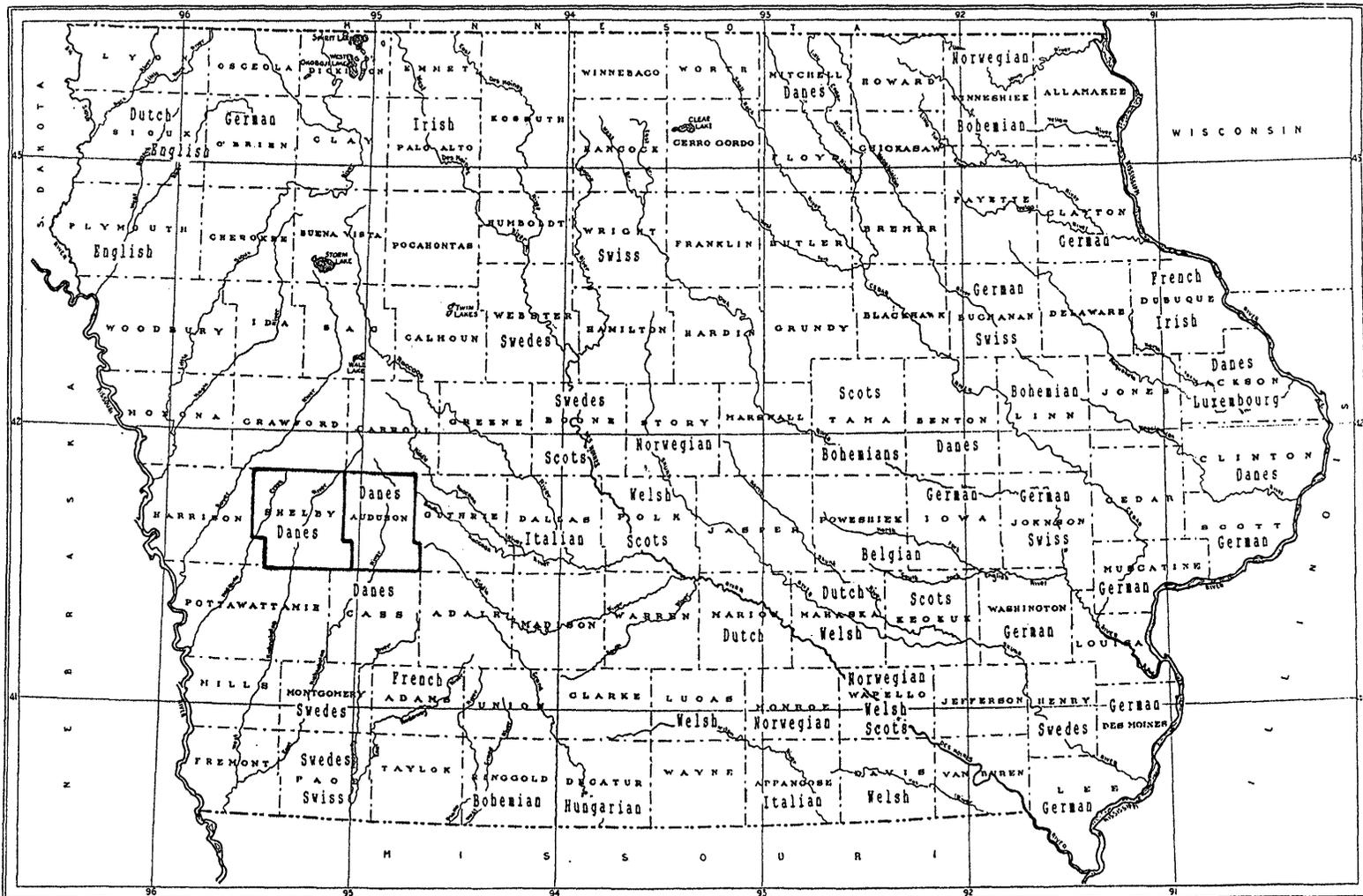


Figure E2. The Principal Ethnic Settlements in Iowa.
Source: After a map from Pratt, LeRoy G. Discovering
Historic Iowa. Iowa Department Public Instruction, 1975.

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SEE FOLDED MAP IN PLASTIC SHEET PROTECTOR

Figure E3. Map of Immigrant Settlement in Shelby County in 1883.
Source: 1880 U. S. or 1885 State Population Censuses.

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SEE FOLDED MAP IN PLASTIC SHEET PROTECTOR

Figure E4. Map of Immigrant Settlement in Audubon County in 1884.
Source: 1880 U. S. or 1885 State Population Censuses.

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SEE FOLDED MAP IN PLASTIC SHEET PROTECTOR

Figure E5. Map of Immigrant Settlement in Shelby County in 1911.
Source: 1910 U. S. Population Census.

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SEE FOLDED MAP IN PLASTIC SHEET PROTECTOR

Figure E6. Map of Immigrant Settlement in Audubon County in 1921.
Source: 1925 State Population Census.

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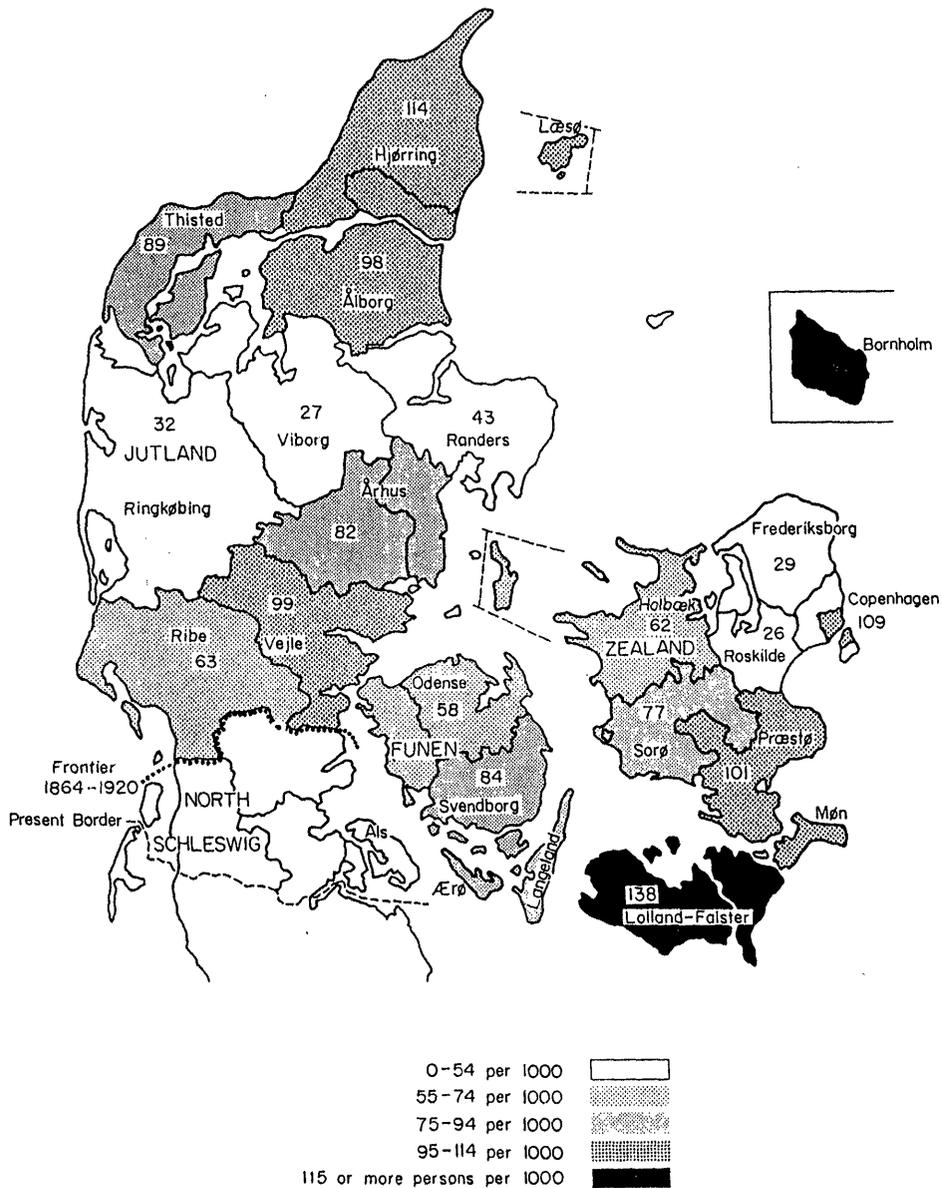


Figure E7. Map of Danish Immigration from 1868-1900 per 1,000 of Population in the Nineteen Danish Counties (average of census figures for 1870 and 1901). Source: Hvidt 1975:41.

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I. Danish Immigrant Settlement: 1865-1924

Danish immigrants were present in Shelby County by the 1856 state census enumeration and were among the early Mormon settlers of Grove Township; however, they did not constitute a persistent presence until 1865 when the first Danish Baptist settlement was made at Cuppy's Grove in Monroe Township in Shelby County. This was reinforced in 1867, with the settlement of Elk Horn Grove in Shelby County, which would serve as the focal point for the first Danish Adventist church in the region, and in 1869-70 when a group of Danish immigrants settled on Section 16 in Jackson Township in Shelby County that would constitute the first Danish Lutheran settlement in that region. These initial settlements signaled the establishment of the largest rural Danish settlement in the United States and would expand into the neighboring counties of Audubon, Cass, and Pottawattamie throughout the late nineteenth and into the early twentieth centuries. The end date of 1924 for the period of significance for this context was selected because that was the year that legislation was passed restricting immigration to the United States and thus stemming the flow of immigrants into this country and into the two county area. While Danish immigration in general reached its greatest peak in 1890, there was a final resurgence and a second (lower) peak in the early 1900s. This is also reflected in the Danish immigration pattern into the two county area, although in some portions of the Danish settlement area, the last wave of immigration in the early 1900s was larger than previous influxes. Therefore, an end date of 1890 would not encompass the entire period of Danish immigration, particularly in the two county area. Additional reasons for the selection of 1924 as the end date include the following: 1) the majority of Danish immigrants to settle in the two county area had done so by 1924; 2) the majority of Danish immigrant farmers had established themselves in the region and begun to pass on their farms, homes, and businesses to their descendants by 1924; and 3) by that time the primary Danish communities of Kimballton and Elk Horn had been established, achieved incorporation, and undergone a population and building boom which had ended by the mid-1920s. Furthermore, many of the Danish immigrants had retired by the early 1920s. The influx of Danish immigrants into the two county area was a diminishing phenomenon with no rigorous cut-off date, therefore, it is concluded that the selection of 1924 best serves the focus of the context concerning Danish immigration. It is recognized that future studies of the native-born descendants of Danish immigrants in the two county area will likely expand the period of significance.

As noted previously, the significance of the Danish immigrant settlement of Shelby and Audubon counties lies in the concentration and size of this ethnic settlement and in its persistence. The Danish immigrant experience is manifested and reflected in the religious, educational, and social culture of the region as well as in the evidence of their decorative arts, the composition and development of their Danish communities, their influence upon mixed communities and the agricultural development of the region, their contributions to construction trades and industries, and the building trends of the Danish settlement area.

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a. Religious Culture

The Danish settlements in Shelby and Audubon counties were typified by four religious affiliations: Mormon, Seventh Day Adventist, Baptist, and Lutheran. This was also typical of Danish immigrant settlements elsewhere in the United States. As noted previously, religious persecution and conflict was one of the reasons prompting emigration from Denmark. Of these four groups, the Lutheran Church was predominant in the two county area as it was in Denmark. Danish Baptists had the second highest following, while the Mormon and Adventist churches had the smallest (Louis 1903:33; Mackintosh 1988:60-61; Petersen 1987:23-24, 47-48).

Danish Mormons and Adventists

The Mormon and Seventh Day Adventist churches found adherents among a number of Danish immigrants including a number who settled in Shelby and Audubon counties. The Mormon Church in particular had as a designated mission to proselytize in European and Scandinavian countries. They found considerable success in Denmark among the Danish Baptists, who had themselves only recently been won away from the Lutheran State Church. The Mormon church was represented in Shelby and Audubon counties by the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints (RLDS). The RLDS were among the earliest settlers of Shelby County, with a church established in Galland's Grove in 1859 (Figure E9). While Danes were among the founding members of this congregation, they numbered only a small percentage of its ethnic composition. They did, however, predominate the congregations of the early Adventist churches of the region, with the first Danish Adventist church established in Clay Township in 1873. In fact, this church served as the focal point for the earliest Danish settlement in that area led by Christian Jensen, or Johnson, who was the first Danish immigrant to settle in that township in 1867. This church was torn down in 1912, and a new church was built to the northeast of the original location and closer to the town of Elk Horn (Anonymous 1912). A second Danish Adventist church was established near Bowman's Grove in Jackson Township c. 1877, and a third in Sharon Township in Audubon County c. 1885 (Figure E9). The Bowman's Grove church was moved into Jacksonville in 1916, eventually closing in the late 1930s-early 1940s (Andrews 1915:228-231; Dunbar and Company 1889:589; Louis 1903:33; Petersen, personal communication 1991; Petersen 1987:24; Shelby County Historical Society 1976:89, 134, 288-289; White 1915:102, 402).

The Sharon Township Adventist church was established by a small settlement of Danes in Indian Creek Valley who were converted to the Adventist faith after having settled this region. This congregation built a church in Section 36 of Sharon Township in 1890, with Danish immigrant carpenter, Jens Uriah Hansen serving on the building committee. That building burned down in 1932 but was soon replaced. By the early 1900s the congregation was operating a 10 grade school at the Adventist Church. Two teachers were employed at the school and they boarded with neighboring members of the congregation, often on the nearby farmstead of Adventist Elder, Andrew P. Hansen. While the school was not taught in Danish nor included Danish language courses in its curriculum, the church still held occasional services in the Danish language well into the twentieth century (Hanson, personal communication 1991; History Book Committee 1983:IC1-2).

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Later RLDS and Adventist churches were established in Harlan, Exira, Audubon, and Jacksonville. Historically, the strength of these churches was in their rural congregations, although the majority of the Adventist churches survive at present in town settings. The exception is the Adventist Church in rural Sharon Township in Audubon County. The RLDS church, on the other hand, eventually passed out of existence in the area.

Danish Baptists

By the mid-nineteenth century, various religious movements were gaining converts in Denmark despite opposition by the Lutheran State Church. In the late 1830s, the Baptists had begun to win Danish adherents, and the Danish government expressed its displeasure by fining and imprisoning many of these early converts. Because of this persecution, some of the early Danish Baptists chose to immigrate to America where the promise of religious freedom was attractive. However, it appears that only a relatively small number actually immigrated largely because there was a gradual rise in religious toleration in Denmark starting with the 1849 constitution which allowed for the formation of non-Lutheran denominations, but also because the Mormon church was very successful in winning converts away from the newly formed Danish Baptist congregations. Many of these converts did immigrate to the United States but as Mormons instead of Baptists (Petersen 1987:23-24).

Despite their comparatively small numbers, the Danish Baptists were represented among the immigrant settlers in Shelby and Audubon counties. Early Danish Baptist settlers in Shelby County tended to concentrate in the western part of Clay Township and the eastern part of Monroe Township. The Altamont Danish Baptist Church was established in 1870 in the Cuppy's Grove (Figure E9) area of Monroe Township to serve a congregation whose original members had migrated in 1865 from West Denmark, Wisconsin, to this location having first emigrated from the South Aalborg Baptist Church congregation in Denmark. The Altamont church was in effect the parent church of the Danish Baptist congregations which later formed in Harlan, Elk Horn, and Merrill's Grove in Polk Township in Shelby County, although the latter is more correctly termed a mission of the Harlan church and was started in the late 1880s (Figure E9). The Baptist Church in Elk Horn originated in Oakfield Township in Audubon County in 1888 when Danish settlers from Cuppy's Grove and Atlantic established new homes in the western portion of that township. In 1918 the congregation moved their services to a new church in Elk Horn. Another early Danish Baptist Church was located at Correction Grove along the border of Clay and Jackson Townships in Shelby County (Figure E9). This church was incorporated in 1907 and a new building was constructed by Jacksonville carpenter, James Barmington (Anonymous 1906a; Courthouse records, Harlan). The Harlan Danish Baptist congregation initially shared a building with the American Baptist congregation, but they later acquired a separate church building. The Vaegteren, the religious journal of the Danish Baptist Church in America was published in Harlan from 1897-1910 having been based previously in Chicago. It was subsequently printed in Elk Horn from 1910 until 1958 when it was discontinued (Andrews 1915:231-233; Anonymous n.d.a; Christensen 1987:6; Dunbar and Company 1889:272; Louis 1903:14; Shelby County Historical Society 1976:88, 200, 213; White 1915:390-393, 504).

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The First Baptist Church in Brayton, while not a Danish Baptist Church did number Danes among its congregation (Figure E9). This church had its beginnings in 1894 in the old Oakfield Academy, with a new church built that same year in nearby Brayton. The church joined with the American Baptist Convention in 1899, but withdrew in 1950 (Book Committee 1978a:39-40).

Throughout their early history, the Danish Baptist Churches in Shelby and Audubon counties utilized the Danish language for at least a portion of their services. The Altamont Baptist church and the church in Harlan, for example, held morning services in Danish with evening services in English. The Danish language was also used in services at the Merrill's Grove church until c. 1916-1918 when the English language began to predominate. Part of the reason for this was that the younger generations of the congregations increasingly did not use the Danish language and in part because of Governor Harding's 1918 proclamation against the use of foreign languages in public places in Iowa. This proclamation had an impact on all of the Danish Baptist churches, although many continued to use Danish to some extent until the 1940s. The Vaegteren continued to be published in Danish until the 1930s when only the front page was in Danish (Anonymous 1979; Louis 1903:33; Nollen 1989; Shelby County Historical Society 1976:214).

Danish Lutherans

The Lutheran Church was predominant in Denmark and was the only religion tolerated until the 1849 constitutional change. As in the homeland, the predominant religion of the Danish immigrants was also Lutheran. Before 1870 Danish immigrants in the United States were too scattered to support Danish Lutheran churches, and therefore they worshipped with Norwegian, Swedish, or German Lutheran congregations. However, in the years following 1870 their numbers had increased to the point that Danish churches could be supported. At the same time, there was a gradual recognition in Denmark of the need for Lutheran mission activities among the Danes in the United States. As a result, the Commission to Further the Preaching of the Gospel among Danes in North America was formed and through this Commission in 1874, the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church or the "Danish Church" was established in the United States growing steadily through the 1880s (Petersen 1987:23-24, 48).

However, the Danish Church soon faced a serious challenge to its solidarity because the immigrants had brought with them deep religious divisions within the Lutheran faith. In the climate of religious freedom in the United States, these divisions became impossible to surmount. The basic conflict was over differing interpretations of the Bible as the Word of God. On one side were those who followed the teachings of the Danish bishop N. S. F. Grundtvig, who stressed the importance of the Apostle's Creed and the sacraments. These followers were called Grundtvigians. On the other side, were those of a more pietistic bent who believed in a literal interpretation of the Bible and stressed the importance of repentance and the development of a personal faith, or inner mission. In Denmark, this group became the Indre Mission, or Inner Mission Society, and they renounced drinking, dancing, gambling, and Sunday labor. Their followers in America, who formed the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church Society in 1884, also believed in greater assimilation on the principle that becoming more Americanized would enable them to better spread their religious

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message. The Grundtvigians, on the other hand, believed strongly that they should strive to preserve their native language and customs. It was inevitable that such diametrically opposed beliefs would tear asunder the Danish Church, and this occurred in 1894 when the pietistics left the church to establish the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America. The split was a rancorous one, fostering hostilities and ill feelings which linger to some extent to the present day in areas where both groups lived in close proximity. Two years following the split, the pietistic group joined with the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church Association which had been established earlier in Blair, Nebraska, to form the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church or "United Church." The Grundtvigian Danish Church managed to survive the split despite losing one-third of its pastors and a number of its congregations. It was soon able to establish the Grand View Seminary in Des Moines, Iowa. Although this was originally envisioned as a university, it became in practice a theological seminary in conjunction with a folk high school. The United Church grew more rapidly than the Danish Church likely because of its commitment to proselytizing. The United Church trained their pastors at Trinity Seminary in Blair, Nebraska (Petersen 1987:49-50; Christensen 1943:105-112; Webb 1991:12).

The United Church more readily adopted the English language, and in the mid-1940s deleted the word "Danish" from its official title. The Danish Church, on the other hand, published a Danish language newspaper until 1933, and it was not until the early 1950s that the name was changed to that of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church. In 1962 this organization would join with three other non-Danish Lutheran churches to form the Lutheran Church in America, although the effort was made to retain some of their ethnic cultural identity by also forming the Danish Interest Conference within the larger organization. In 1960, the United Church joined with the Norwegian and German Lutheran churches to form the American Lutheran Church. Finally, after having been split apart for 94 years, the Danish Lutheran synods were reunited in 1988 when the Lutheran Church in America merged with the American Lutheran Church to form the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. Figure E10 presents a diagram illustrating this church history (Neve 1916:413-420; Petersen 1987:50-51).

As the Danish immigration into Shelby and Audubon counties increased in the 1870s and 1880s, the number of Lutherans also increased. The earliest Danish Lutheran congregation was established at Elk Horn in 1875 with a church built in 1882. A second Lutheran church was established in Bowman's Grove in northwest Jackson Township in 1877. The congregation first met in two rural schoolhouses including Jackson #9 (Copenhagen School) and Jackson #5 (Damm's School). In 1885 this congregation built a church building and became the Bethlehem Danish Evangelical Lutheran congregation. These were followed by the establishment of Lutheran churches in Oakfield and Sharon townships in Audubon County between 1885-1890. The church in Oakfield Township was known as the Oak Hill Danish Lutheran Church, while that in Sharon Township was called the Bethany Evangelical Danish Lutheran Church. The latter was a mission church founded in 1890 by members of the Elk Horn church (Anonymous 1940:8; Dunbar and Company 1889:258; Petersen, personal communication 1991; White 1915:400-401).

With the split between the pietistic and Grundtvigian Lutheran factions in 1894, there was in effect a schism among the existing Danish Lutheran congregations in the two county area. This was most difficult for the Elk Horn and Bethany

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congregations which saw their original memberships split between the two synods. It also had a tremendous impact on the communities of Elk Horn and Kimballton, with the latter tending toward the Grundtvigian beliefs and the former being more closely aligned with the Inner Mission Society. These differences had been evident prior to the 1894 split, with a "stricter attitude towards life, with the deep dislike of alcohol which was typical of the supporters of the Inner Mission branch of Danish Lutheranism, clearly [existing] in Elk Horn, while the more permissive attitudes of the Grundtvigian Lutheranism reigned in Kimballton" (Mackintosh 1988:58).

It has been noted that following the split:

there were followers of the Grundtvigian Lutheranism in Elk Horn just as there were adherents of the United Danish church (Inner Mission) in the Kimballton area, but each of the two towns gradually came to represent their own brand of Danish Lutheranism. It was the custom in both towns that some of the early immigrants, who were well established and thus influential, opened their homes to young immigrants when they first arrived. This practice enabled these new settlers to find a job and start to earn and save money. In this way the differences between the towns were accentuated, as the new arrivals later chose to live near people with the same basic outlook on life. Contemporary issues of the two papers Dannevirke in America and Hojskolebaldet in Denmark show that an active recruitment was made by Grundtvigian settlers, and Kimballton gradually came to be dominated by settlers sharing the views of the Danish Church (Mackintosh 1988:58).

In Elk Horn the majority of the original congregation stayed with their pastor and followed the United Church; however, 32 members did leave to start a Grundtvigian congregation in Kimballton. They were joined by a group from the Bethany church whose congregation had also been split (Mackintosh 1988:59). The schism between Elk Horn and Kimballton went beyond the church, primarily because of the close proximity of the two towns, and to a certain extent would engender social conflicts and bitter feelings for generations to come. Larsen notes that the religious split between these two communities was even complicated by "frictions over a power line" at an early date (Larsen 1970:10-13, 53). At other times, the schism produced a humorous response such as that by Dr. P. Soe of Kimballton who, when asked about the difference, remarked "well, to me it seems something like this--you Inner Mission people seem to feel you must weep and grovel your way into heaven; we [i.e., the Grundtvigians] feel that a smile now and then might help" (Hansen 1966). Along that same vein, Elk Horn was sometimes referred to as the home of the "Holy Danes," while Kimballton was the home of the "Happy Danes" (Larsen 1970:10-13, 53).

The Grundtvigian Lutheran congregations established in the two county area following the 1894 split included that of the Immanuel Evangelical Danish Lutheran Church in Kimballton, the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in Poplar, and the St. Johannes or St. John's Danish Lutheran Church in Oakfield Township. The latter was established in 1895 by the Oak Hill Danish Lutheran Church whose congregation also went with the Grundtvigian synod. These two churches later merged to form the Lutheran Church in Brayton in 1959. The Immanuel Lutheran

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congregation constructed a church building in Kimballton in 1904 that represents the only surviving Grundtvigian church building in the two county area. This church also represents the largest and most influential Grundtvigian congregation in the two county area (Book Committee 1985; Book Committee 1978a:41-42).

United Churches in the two county area included those already noted at Elk Horn and Bethany in addition to the Bethlehem Lutheran Church near Jacksonville and the congregations established after 1894 including the Ebenezer Evangelical Lutheran Church in Douglas Township in Audubon County, the Immanuel Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in Harlan, and the Danish Evangelical Lutheran churches in Audubon, Hamlin, Exira, and Shelby (Book Committee 1957; Book Committee 1977:1-3; Lillehoj, personal communication 1991; Petersen, personal communication 1991; Shelby County Historical Society 1976; White 1915:400-401). Many of these congregations have survived to the present day indicating the strength of the United Church. Of the historical church buildings, however, only the Bethany Church remains relatively unchanged.

Therefore, of the thirteen Danish Lutheran churches in Shelby and Audubon counties by the early 1900s, the United Church was predominant with nine of these churches being of this synod. This is considering that the Oak Hill and St. John's Grundtvigian churches had not yet merged. Figure E9 shows the location of these thirteen churches in the two county area.

The impact of Governor Harding's 1918 prohibition of the use of foreign languages effected the Lutheran churches to varying degrees. In Elk Horn, where the United Church was in control, the congregation immediately dropped the Danish Sunday School and reverted to using English at church services. Some Danish speaking services were reintroduced after the war, but remained outnumbered by the English services until 1948 when the last Danish service was held. On the other hand, in Kimballton where the Grundtvigian branch was strongest, the congregation continued to hold Danish services despite the 1918 ban. They also continued to hold Danish Sunday and Summer schools until around 1940, with an English Sunday school being introduced in conjunction with the Danish Sunday school in 1933. As the number of children who were not fluent in Danish increased, the use of English in the services at the Immanuel Lutheran church also increased. However, there was still one Danish service held per month until 1961 when it was discontinued because the new minister could not speak Danish (Mackintosh 1988:62).

One additional aspect of Danish Lutheranism in Elk Horn should be noted, that of the establishment of the Elim Children's Home in 1890 and operating until 1962. It served as a home to the area's orphans as well as a temporary home to children whose families were suffering from the death or incapacitation of one of the parents. It is remembered as a humane and beneficial institution to the welfare of the region's less fortunate. Unfortunately, nothing remains of this home except for a potential archaeological site (Christensen 1987:12; Larsen 1970:10-13, 53; Louis 1903:26; Shelby County Historical Society 1976:88).

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A total of four Danish churches and one parsonage were recorded during the ethnic survey of Shelby and Audubon counties. An additional church was recorded that was not a Danish church but had been built by a Danish immigrant carpenter, specifically the Federated Church of Christ in Exira built in 1870-71 by Jens Uriah Hansen with John Dodge. Of the four Danish churches recorded, one was built after the period of significance, specifically the Merrill's Grove Danish Baptist Church in Shelby County built in 1933. The relatively low number of recorded properties related to Danish religious culture is reflective of the scarcity of this resource in the two county area. For example, of the thirteen Danish Lutheran churches once in existence in this area, only one Grundtvigian and three United Church historic church buildings remain. The term "historic church" being defined as a church built during the period of significance of 1865-1924. At least three of the former United Church historic churches were replaced with post-1924 masonry church buildings and were not recorded by this survey. The same is true of the former historic Danish Baptist and Adventist churches which have all been destroyed and replaced with post-1924 structures of either frame or masonry construction. Time constraints did not permit the official recording of all of the historic Danish church buildings and parsonages that remain in the two county area, although all were examined by either windshield survey or through photographic documentation. Those that remain are in various states of preservation; therefore, attention was paid to those that played important roles in the development of the Danish religious culture in the region. Two former historic Danish churches were recorded as archaeological sites or site components by the ethnic survey including the foundation remains of the Poplar Lutheran Church and the Adventist Church in Clay Township in Shelby County.

From the recorded properties, and from the available photographic documentation of the former and present Danish religious buildings in the two county area, it was concluded that two basic building types are associated with the manifestation of Danish religious culture, specifically churches and parsonages. In the two county area frame buildings were the preferred historic church building of all the Danish religious congregations. The majority remained in use either as they were originally built or enlarged to accommodate growing congregations. In some instances, the original frame churches were destroyed by fire and were replaced with new frame buildings. These churches are characterized by a front gabled, rectangular, L-shaped, or cross-shaped plan, with a central entry tower, although some variation does exist in the placement and size of the tower. The overall size of the building itself is also variable from small to large. Generally, these buildings are designed and constructed by local builders.

The Danish religious congregations generally constructed residences for their clergy sited next to or within relatively close proximity to the church. However, in the case of the Kimballton Lutheran church, the parsonage was actually a house built previously and subsequently purchased by the church. This house was located next to the assembly hall which the congregation built in 1896, with the later church sited some distance from both the assembly hall and the parsonage. Parsonages in the area were built along the same styles and patterns as the residences common to the area in which they are found and the

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times in which they were constructed. They are generally designed and constructed by local builders.

The Danish churches are potentially significant because they served to anchor community and rural development and served as incentives for additional immigrant settlement. Their importance to the Danish immigrant settlement area of Shelby and Audubon counties is reflected in their early establishment and construction, often before commercial and formal community development. For example, the establishment of the Danish Lutheran Church in northeast Clay Township in 1875 served as the impetus for the later growth and development of the Danish community of Elk Horn, while the establishment of later churches following the split within the Danish Lutheran church drew settlers to particular areas and strongly influenced the educational, social, political, and cultural development of their respective communities and hinterlands. Therefore, Danish churches are potentially significant at the local level.

Danish immigrant churches are further potentially significant at the state and national levels if they represent churches associated with key events in the development of Danish immigrant congregations or with key individuals in this development. Of particular significance would be those churches which represent influential congregations or key individuals in the split within the Danish Lutheran church in and after 1894. At the present level of information, none of the surviving Danish immigrant churches in either Shelby or Audubon counties is significant beyond the local level.

Danish immigrant church parsonages have little significance in and of themselves. Their only importance would lie in their association with a significant Danish immigrant church or as the best representative property associated with a significant individual. Two of the known remaining historic Danish parsonages in the two county area have been greatly modified through the years and do not retain sufficient integrity to be considered eligible for the Register. The third known parsonage was not examined by the survey.

Of the extant historic Danish church buildings in the two county area, only the Immanuel Lutheran Church in Kimballton and the Bethany Church in Audubon County qualify under both the significance and integrity considerations as defined above and in Section F of this document. Both of these buildings are being nominated with this submittal.

Extant Examples. The following are the existing Danish immigrant church buildings and parsonages in the two county area that were constructed during the period of significance of 1865-1924:

Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church, Kimballton, 1904

Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Parsonage, Kimballton, 1885

Bethany Evangelical Lutheran Church, Sharon Township, Audubon County, 1898

Bethany Evangelical Lutheran Parsonage, Sharon Township, Audubon County,
1899

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Ebenezer Evangelical Lutheran Church, Douglas Township, Audubon County,
1896

Evangelical Lutheran Church, Hamlin, 1906

Bethlehem Lutheran Church Parsonage, Jacksonville, 1917

Non-Extant Examples. The following are those Danish immigrant church buildings that once existed in the two county area and were constructed during the period of significance, 1865-1924:

Adventist Church, Clay Township, Shelby County, 1877 (designated as archaeological site 13SH8)

Merrill's Grove Danish Baptist Church, Polk Township, Shelby County, 1893
(see Shelby County Historical Society 1976:213)

Danish Baptist Church, Oakfield Township, Audubon County, 1893 (see Andrews 1915:232)

Correction Grove Danish Baptist Church, near Kimballton, 1907

Bethany Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Sharon Township, 1890 (see Andrews 1915:227)

Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Elk Horn, 1882 (see Christensen 1987:9)

Oak Hill Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Oakfield Township, Audubon County, 1885 (see Book Committee 1978a:39)

St. John's Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Oakfield Township, Audubon County, 1898 (see Book Committee 1978a:41)

Immanuel Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Harlan, 1914-15 (see Shelby County Historical Society 1976:287)

Altamont Danish Baptist Churches, Monroe Township, Shelby County, 1877 and 1890 (both burned) (see Shelby County Historical Society 1976:200-201; White 1915:391)

Adventist Church, Bowman's Grove, c. 1885 (see Book Committee 1985:26)

Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Jacksonville, 1885 (see Shelby County Historical Society 1976:134)

Bethlehem Lutheran Church Parsonage, Jacksonville, 1887

Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Poplar, 1906 (a component of archaeological site 13SH7, the Poplar Townsite)

Adventist Church, Sharon Township, Audubon County, 1890 (see Andrews 1915:229)

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b. Educational Culture

The Danish immigrant influence in the two county area is also reflected in the educational institutions that they established. These included folk schools and summer schools that were associated with their religious culture as well as public schools.

Danish Folk Schools

Around 1850 the idea for a Danish folk high school was inspired by N. F. S. Grundtvig, the theologian for whom the Grundtvigian synod was named. He felt there was a great need for a school for young adults with an emphasis on teaching Danish history, cultural traditions, and language as well as practical subjects "aimed at improving the general level of the pupils, opening their minds and broadening their horizons for new ideas both in their daily lives and in society" (Mackintosh 1988:57) to "rouse his fellow Danes from their state of despair" following the "nation's disastrous alliance with France during the Napoleonic wars" (Petersen 1987:52). This open attitude to new ideas was also of crucial importance to Danish farmers when the international agricultural crisis and the loss of Danish territory in the late nineteenth century, necessitated a radical change in traditional farming principles, and it was the same attitude which made people receptive to new ideas such as limiting the size of their families (Mackintosh 1988:57).

Therefore, those Danish immigrants to the United States who wished to preserve their heritage but also to learn new, practical approaches, naturally embraced the folk school concept and soon established such schools in their new country. The first Danish folk school in the United States was established at Elk Horn in 1878. This was followed by the establishment of folk schools in Michigan, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Minnesota, California, and eventually in Canada between 1882-1921. All of these folk schools were founded by members of the Grundtvigian synod of the Danish Lutheran Church. Only one folk school with an association with the United Church was established in North Dakota in 1905. It is somewhat ironic that while folk schools were established to help preserve and maintain Danish ethnic heritage, they also enabled assimilation by including English language courses in their curriculum. Therefore, it is not surprising that a United Church congregation would establish a folk school such as in North Dakota and support the folk school in Elk Horn. While the folk schools did attract a modest enrollment, they never lived up to original expectations. By World War I, the problems of low attendance and low funding had proved to be too much, and many of the folk schools passed from the scene. Four schools did manage to survive into the 1930s when the economic hardships of the Great Depression finally forced them to close their doors (Petersen 1987:52-54).

The building of a folk school at Elk Horn in Shelby County was authorized during a convention of the Danish Lutheran Church in America in 1878. It was originally designed to be owned by the church, but was later modified to ownership by its president and supported by people within the church. The school was built that same year on three acres of land donated by the Lutheran congregation. The first president was the Reverend O. L. Kirkeberg who was a Norwegian immigrant, and the original intent of the Elk Horn folk school was, in fact, to be a "Nordic" folk school. Kirkeberg was assisted by Kristian Ostergaard, a Danish immigrant, and an American by the name of Crouse. The

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latter taught classes in English, while the former aided in the other classes all of which were taught in Danish. Both summer and winter sessions were held. The students boarded at the school and were predominantly male, although females were allowed to attend summer sessions. The curriculum included English and Danish language classes, mathematics, history, Norse mythology, physics, geography, penmanship, religion, singing, and gymnastics. The girls were also taught to sew, knit, and embroider (Christensen 1987:10; Mortensen 1977:21-25; White 1915:427).

The folk school complex in Elk Horn soon included a parsonage, a dormitory (or Gladhjem), a house for Ostergaard, and the school itself. A weekly Danish newspaper, Dannevirke, was also first published at the folk school in 1880 but, after a short time, the publication was moved to Racine, Wisconsin, and later to Cedar Falls, Iowa. Another weekly paper, the Danish Weekly of Shelby and Audubon Counties, was also printed for a short time in Elk Horn in the late 1800s by Nis Larsen (Anonymous 1979; Mortensen 1977).

The influx of Danish immigrants came into full flourish in the 1880s; however, the Elk Horn folk school still suffered from low attendance and funding problems. President Kirkeberg was not universally well-liked, in part because of his uncompromising personality, and in part because of his sensitivity about his nationality. He resigned in 1880 leaving the folk school to the church. That same year the presidency was taken over by H. J. Pedersen of Michigan who retained Ostergaard on the faculty. The folk school did play a part in attracting immigrants to the growing settlement of Elk Horn, as did the presence of the Lutheran Church. During the 1880s, the school's attendance grew slowly but steadily, and Pedersen was soon able to pay off the school's debt. However, Pedersen also decided to enter into a new school in Michigan and took Ostergaard with him. In 1882 Kristian Anker from Chicago took over the presidency. Among the teachers in the 1880s was P. S. Vig who was later ordained as a minister in the Danish Lutheran Church and served congregations in Shelby and Audubon counties including the Bethany Church in Sharon Township (Mortensen 1977:25-30).

The original folk school building burned to the ground in 1887, and a new, larger building was erected in its place. By 1890 the church had decided to dispose of the school, and Kristian Anker purchased it for \$4000.00, changing the school from a religious-backed enterprise to a private one. Following the change of ownership, "the school in reality steered a new course and gradually de-emphasized the traditional folk school pattern," placing more emphasis on a college preparatory course of study (Christensen 1987:11; Mortensen 1977:31).

It features courses in business, trained teachers for public and parochial schools, and boasted an "academic" department which prepared students for college and university. It also became co-educational (Mortensen 1977:31).

These innovations did help to increase attendance; however, some felt that it was a betrayal of the true folk school spirit and intent. This change in course was reflective of the changes that the Lutheran church was undergoing at the same time. It must be noted that the folk school was located in Elk Horn which in 1894 was to become the bastion of the United Church faction in this region. In fact, it was at Elk Horn that the dissidents who sided with the Indre Mission Society in Denmark met to organize the new synod. In 1894 Kristian Anker sold

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the school to the United Church which for three years used it as a seminary. This was a supreme twist of irony as the folk school which had been founded on Grundtvigian principles, was now being used as a "nucleus for fighting against the Danish Lutheran Church" which had embraced Grundtvig's teachings (Mortensen 1977:34). The seminary was moved to Blair, Nebraska, in 1897 where it became the nucleus of present-day Dana College. The folk school in Elk Horn continued to be operated by a stock company of local residents as an academy called Elk Horn College. The main building was again destroyed by fire in 1910 and was rebuilt. It was used for educational purposes until 1920 when, because of the Harding ban on the use of foreign languages in public places and the construction of a public high school in Elk Horn, the college was closed. The building later burned a third time but was once again rebuilt. After that, the local Lutheran congregation used the building, a portion of which became a rest home. In 1950 the main building was razed, and the Salem Retirement Home built on the site (Christensen 1987:11; Mortensen 1977:34-35; White 1915:428-429).

Danish Summer Schools

The educational needs of the Danish immigrant community were also served by the establishment of summer schools, predominantly by the Lutheran Church and later predominantly by the Grundtvigian branch of that church, to further children's education, both secular and religious. Such schools were established at Poplar, Oak Hill, Elk Horn, Harlan, and Kimballton. The school at Oak Hill, built in 1901, was fairly typical of these institutions in that every summer a teacher, trained in Danish, was hired to conduct "classes in Danish language writing, Danish history, Bible lessons, crafts, gymnastics, Danish hymns, Bible story songs, and children's songs" (Book Committee 1978a:42). Some schools also taught practical subjects such as mathematics. Sessions lasted all day and were six to eight weeks in length. Because of the decline of the Grundtvigian influence in the Danish Church, coupled with the decrease in the number of immigrant descendants who could speak and read Danish and the 1918 foreign language ban, the Danish summer schools began to decline in both popularity and need. By 1920 many of the Danish summer schools in the two county area had been discontinued giving way to English Sunday Schools (Book Committee 1978a:41-42; Book Committee 1985:8; History Book Committee 1983; Shelby County Historical Society 1976:88; White 1915:26).

Danish Public Schools

Similar in intent to the summer schools, but longer in the duration of the term, was the Danish Children's School of Kimballton organized in the early 1880s. The curriculum included Danish language, Bible history, Danish history, geography, literature, singing, and handwork. Gymnastics and folk dancing were later added. The term of the school lasted from June 1 to December 1. In 1895 the Danish Ladies Aid Society took over the operation of the school, and a new school was built three miles east of Kimballton, known as the Ridge School. A third school was later built north of the Bethany Church. The Danish Children's School continued to operate until the early 1930s, when lowered attendance forced the school to close. By that time, fewer children had been taught the Danish language at home and the need for Danish instruction was not as great. For a time, Danish classes were then held in the churches, but by the 1940s had been completely discontinued (History Book Committee 1983:II-51, 52).

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While not particularly Danish in their implementation, regular public schools were also a fixture in all of the Danish communities of Shelby and Audubon counties necessitated by law but also by the desires of immigrants, such as those of the United Church, who strove to assimilate into American society (Andrews 1915:222-225; Petersen 1984:33). Public schools were established in the Danish settlement area at an early date. The desire for education was a tradition that the immigrants brought with them from Denmark. Many did not emigrate while their children were of school-age primarily because of the importance of education to the Danes. Therefore, those that immigrated and had children in the United States, continued to view education as a desirable necessity and were very supportive of the educational institutions and opportunities in Shelby and Audubon counties.

Typology

A total of four Danish immigrant school buildings were recorded in the two county area by the ethnic survey. Of these one was a summer school, while the remainder were public schools. The former folk school buildings in Elk Horn are no longer extant, and the only known extant summer school is that recorded in Oakfield Township in Audubon County. It is known that additional public schools are still extant in the Danish settlement area and in various stages of preservation; however, time constraints did not permit a comprehensive survey or tabulation of this building type.

Some typological data concerning the manifestation of Danish educational culture in the two county area can be drawn from the few recorded buildings and from photographic documentation of the non-extant buildings. Historically, the folk and summer schools were associated with the Danish Lutheran church, while the Danish public schools were more secular in their orientation. Folk schools were established to help maintain Danish cultural traditions and were geared for young adults. The buildings which housed folk schools were generally large in size, with the main school building commonly exhibiting a compound gabled wing form. The first of the three folk school buildings once extant in Elk Horn had a gabled roof with a distinctive centrally-placed two story entry tower which projected out from the facade. Four gabled wall dormers were present along the raking eaves. The second, third, and fourth generation folk school buildings were of the compound gabled wing form with centrally-placed towers. From available historic photographs of several other Danish folk schools in the United States, it appears that this was a common folk school building form.

Danish summer schools were patterned in curriculum after the folk schools but were much smaller in size and operated only during the summer months. These schools were found in both rural and town settings and were established primarily, although not exclusively, by the Grundtvigian synod of the Danish Lutheran Church. The only known example in the two county area is plain in detailing, one-story in height, and rectangular in ground plan.

Danish public schools were indistinguishable from other public schools in the two county area, except in the case of the Danish Children's School in Kimballton which included Danish courses and cultural traditions in its curriculum. Of particular note, is the fact that most of the public schools in the Danish communities were designed and built by skilled Danish carpenters and masons. Early schools built during the 1880s-1890s were generally plain,

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rectangular, front gabled structures with tall, narrow windows and little or no exterior ornamentation. These buildings were generally replaced in the 1900s-1920s with larger, more elaborate buildings, the later ones of which resembled the popular house styles of the day and were influenced by the Prairie and Craftsmen architectural styles.

Danish immigrant schools, particularly the folk, summer, and Danish children's schools, are significant because these institutions helped to maintain Danish cultural traditions in the United States while helping to meet the educational needs of the Danish immigrant population who brought with them a recognition of the importance of education to the betterment of their children's futures. As such, Danish immigrant schools are significant at the local level. Only in the case of a folk school which played a key role in the development of the Danish folk school movement in America, is there potential for state or national significance. The only property which would so qualify in the two county area was the original Elk Horn Folk School which was the first Danish folk school built in the United States. Unfortunately, that property is no longer extant, and it's site has been extensively built over. The two extant Jackson #1 public schools are being nominated with this submittal as contributing buildings to the Poplar Rural District.

Extant Examples. The following are the known extant properties associated with Danish immigrant educational culture in the two county area and built within the period of significance of 1865-1924:

Oak Hill Danish Summer School, Oakfield Township, Audubon County, 1901 (to be demolished in 1991-1992)

Jackson #1 School, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1884 (moved)

Jackson #1 School, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1923

Jacksonville School, Jacksonville, 1907

Non-Extant Examples. The following are the known non-extant properties associated with Danish immigrant educational culture:

Elk Horn Folk School, Elk Horn, 1878 and 1887 (see Mortensen 1977:23, 33)

Elk Horn College, Elk Horn, 1910 and 1920 (Ibid.)

Danish Children's School, Kimballton, early 1880s (see History Book Committee 1983:II-51)

Ridge School, Sharon Township, Audubon County, 1895 (Ibid.)

Kimballton Public School, Kimballton, 1908-1910 (see Anonymous 1967)

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Danish immigrant influence in Shelby and Audubon counties is further reflected in the social history of the Danish settlement area. This history is expressed in fraternal, religious, and community based organizations and festivals. One of the best known fraternal organizations of the Danish immigrants was the Danish Brotherhood which was the largest nationwide Danish-American fraternal order. It was founded in Omaha in 1882 by groups of Danes who were veterans of either the American Civil War or the Danish war with Prussia, although it was not exclusively a veterans organization. The membership was open to "honorable men, born of Danish parents or who were of Danish extraction" (Petersen 1987:57). The Brotherhood offered social interactions focused on a common heritage as well as practical programs of cooperative life and health insurance and funeral aid. The organization grew steadily and is still active to the present day. A parallel group for women, the Danish Sisterhood, was founded in 1883 (Ibid.:57-58).

The formation of the Brotherhood was not without controversy. There were members of the Danish Church, Frederik Lange Grundtvig (son of N. F. S.) in particular, who felt that the secrecy and ritual of this organization resembled idolatry. Grundtvig joined with others in an attempt to have lodge members excluded from church membership. While his own congregation adopted this policy, he failed in the attempt to have it adopted by the church as a whole. In 1887 in response to the growing tensions within the Danish Church and to counter the increasing number of secular Danish associations such as the Brotherhood and another known as Dania, Grundtvig organized the Dansk Folkesamfund (Danish Folk Community or Danish People's Society) for "all Danish-Americans not opposed to the Church for the purpose of preserving the Danish language, life, and culture in the United States" (Christensen 1943:107). The Indre Mission Society adherents saw in the Dansk Folkesamfund "an attempt to unite Thor and Jesus, nationality and Christianity, worldliness and godliness," (Ibid.:107-108) ideas which to them were abhorrent, thus serving to deepen the growing schism within the church. The Dansk Folkesamfund did encourage the establishment of "Danish lecture courses, social centers or homes, libraries, schools, churches, and colonies among the Danish immigrants" (Ibid.:110). However, the resulting schism within the church would be seen by Frederik Lange Grundtvig as a personal defeat, and by 1900 he had left the United States and returned to Denmark (Damm and Thornsohn 1986:111).

The Danish Brotherhood, more so than the Dansk Folkesamfund, was an important part of the social history of the Danish immigrant settlements in Shelby and Audubon counties, although there was an organized Dansk Folkesamfund in the Grundtvigian community of Kimballton. This organization was also evident in the formation of Young People's and Danish Ladies Aid societies in towns such as Kimballton and Audubon, but the Brotherhood was also present in these same communities. Danish Brotherhood orders were organized in Brayton, Jacksonville, Rorbeck, Harlan, Audubon, Hamlin, Kimballton, and Elk Horn. The Brayton order was transferred to Exira by 1915 where they had a lodge hall on the main street. The Brotherhood still remains active in this area to the present day, although the orders are fewer in number. The Kimballton and Elk Horn orders, for example, alternate their meetings between these two communities. The Dansk Folkesamfund has long since ceased to be a presence in this area (Andrews 1915:226-227, 248-255; Dunbar and Company 1889:680; Book Committee 1957; History

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Book Committee 1983:9; Louis 1903:36; Shelby County Historical Society 1976).

The Young People's Society and Danish Ladies Aid Society were active in Kimballton. Among the activities of the Ladies Aid Society were the operation of the Danish Children's School after 1895 and the sponsoring of Danish plays (Dansk skuespil) held first in the gym hall and later in the town hall. A Danish Reading Club was also organized in the early 1900s and continues to the present day. The assembly hall, or forsamlinghus, was typical of similar institutions encouraged by the Grundtvigians for lectures, folk dancing, gymnastics, plays, and other cultural and social activities. The assembly hall in Kimballton, more commonly called the gym hall, was built in 1896 after the church split, and was the location of the first church services prior to the construction of the Immanuel Lutheran Church in 1904. The Young People's Society also used the gym hall for gymnastics and social activities. Community and social halls were also built in the Danish communities of Rorbeck, Jacksonville (Dannebrog Hall), and Poplar (Rasmussen Hall). The latter was true to its Grundtvigian influence by serving as a hall for dances, social activities, and gymnastics. The Dannebrog Hall was also the scene of community social activities but was most prominently used as the Danish Brotherhood lodge hall (Book Committee 1985:9; History Book Committee 1983; Mortensen 1977).

An additional aspect of the Danish immigrant cultural influences in the area was the formation of Danish bands and orchestras. There was a Danish band in Harlan as early as 1879, and Danish bands and orchestras were popular in Kimballton, the latter being a reflection of the Grundtvigian encouragement of traditional dance and song. Because of this influence, Danish folk dancing was always popular in Kimballton but only in recent years has it been revived in Elk Horn (History Book Committee 1983; White 1915:453).

Danish festivals were also part of the social history of the Danish settlement area in Shelby and Audubon counties. A Mindefest was held in honor of the Danish veterans of the 1864 Danish-Prussian War in Kimballton in 1914. This celebration was attended by nearly 1,000 persons and included an encampment by the old soldiers, speeches, singing, and refreshments. Another traditional festival, which today is called the Tivoli Fest, is the celebration of the Danish Constitution Day on June 5th (History Book Committee 1983:II-44; Mortensen 1977:28). In the early 1900s, this celebration included the display of both the Danish national flag and the Stars and Stripes, speech-making, and "demonstrations such as are common on the Fourth of July" (Louis 1903:20). Today, it is more of a revival celebration of the area's Danish heritage with traditional foods, folk dancing, crafts, and songs.

The celebration of birthdays, particularly the round birthdays ending in zero (den runde fodselsdag), was also an important Danish tradition brought to this country by the immigrants. Such celebrations would include card playing and socializing along with plenty of good food such as cakes and cookies. Guests were usually uninvited but were expected and certainly welcomed (Betsinger 1970:164-165; Christoffersen, personal communication 1991).

Typology

Because of a scarcity of extant physical resources associated with Danish immigrant social culture in the two county area, it was impossible to construct

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a typology of the properties associated with this context. Only one known example of a Danish assembly hall (forsamlinghus) is extant in the two county area and this building has been extensively remodeled through the years. This building is one-story, originally rectangular in ground plan, and lacking in exterior decorative elaboration. The only other known building types once extant in the two county area associated with Danish immigrant social culture were the Danish Brotherhood lodge halls and social halls, none of which have survived. From available photographic data, the halls were generally two stories in height with the lodge or social hall occupying the second floor and a business on the first floor. These halls are generally indistinguishable from the lodge and social halls common in Midwestern communities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The potential archaeological remains of the social hall in the Danish community of Poplar has been designated as a component of archaeological site 13SH7, the Townsite of Poplar.

Danish immigrant social halls are potentially significant because they fostered the maintenance of Danish cultural and social traditions through fraternal organizations and by providing a place for lectures, gymnastics, and traditional folk dancing and singing. In some cases, the assembly halls also served as churches in lieu of a specific church building. As such, Danish immigrant social halls are potentially significant at the local level. State or national levels of significance could be achieved only if the building was associated with significant events or personages in the development of Danish immigrant social organizations. None of the properties in Shelby and Audubon counties qualifies at the state or national level of significance, nor is the one extant example of an assembly hall being nominated with this submittal because of its questionable integrity.

Extant Examples. The following is the only known surviving example of a Danish immigrant social or assembly hall in the two county area:

Assembly Hall, or Gym Hall, Kimballton, 1896

Non-Extant Examples. The following are known examples of Danish immigrant social halls that were once present in the two county area and were constructed during the period of significance of 1865-1924:

Dannebrog Hall, Jacksonville, 1903 (see Book Committee 1985:12)

Rasmussen Hall, Poplar, c. 1903 (a component of archaeological site 13SH7)

Brotherhood Hall, Rorbeck, 1902 (Anonymous 1963)

d. Decorative Arts

The influence of Danish immigrant culture in the Shelby/Audubon region is also reflected historically in the decorative arts brought to this country by immigrant artists and craftsmen, many of whom had been trained in Denmark. These arts included mural and wall painting, wood graining, and the crafting of furniture.

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N. P. Maler, H. Hansen, and Jens Kjar were noted Danish painters in the Kimballton/Elk Horn area. Maler was a house painter by trade but he also painted pictures, and it is possible that he may have done some interior painting as well. Although H. Hansen and Jens Kjar later worked out of Atlantic, Iowa, it is known that they did paint murals and other interior decorations in the Kimballton area. These decorations often involved painted and stenciled borders on ceilings and walls, sometimes framing elaborate murals of landscapes, floral arrangements, and in some cases fanciful motifs such as angels. The Hans J. Jorgensen house in Kimballton was known to have a painted decorative interior including floral patterns and marbleized panels likely by 1890. It is not known who the particular painter was, but it is known that painted panels, including marbleized ones, and other types of interior painted decorations had a fairly long history in Denmark, and it is likely that it was a Danish immigrant painter trained in Denmark who did this work. Other known examples of painted interiors in the area include the Jorgen Hartvigsen house in Sharon Township and the Hans Madsen house in Kimballton. It is known that the interior paintings of the Hartvigsen house were executed by H. Hansen, possibly assisted by Jens Kjar (Betsinger 1970:73-74, 120-122, 142). These paintings have been described as follows:

Mrs. Charles Sornson remembered the dining room as having a geometric design of lines and "beautiful squares" probably done by stenciling; the living room ceiling, done freehand, had angels painted in the center and in each corner was a spray of flowers; in the bedroom was a blue sky with floating clouds and stars including the Big Dipper and the Eastern Star. Mrs. Ole A. Hansen remembered that as a child she was fascinated as she lay looking up at this ceiling and she also recalled that in an upstairs room there had been a landscape on a wall but which had been covered up for some reason (Ibid.:168-169).

Once completed, the Hartvigsen house was open for guests to view the paintings as advertising for the painters' work. Hansen later established the H. Hansen and Company Fresco Artists in Atlantic, with Kjar as an employee (Ibid.:75; Sornson 1969).

Peter Claude Hansen, or "Peter Claudy" as he was commonly called, lived in Kimballton and was a painter and paper-hanger by trade. However, his specialty was wood graining. His technique has been described as follows:

after covering the surface two times with cream colored paint he used stain for simulated grain. The coarse graining was done with a wedge of raw potato into which he had cut notches, on door frames he used a comb, and for fine graining, a paint brush. When this was completed, varnish was applied as a final finish (Betsinger 1970:72-73).

The art of wood graining on doors, door frames, and wainscoting was very popular in the Danish settlement area. Known examples, which are still evident, include those in the Jens T. Larsen and Erik Simonsen houses in Kimballton and the interior of the Bethany Lutheran Church in Sharon Township. It is known that wood graining was also once present in the Lutheran parsonage in Kimballton. This was an enduring form of interior decorative art having been done in the area from the late nineteenth century well into the 1940s. On the other hand, interest in elaborate interior decorative murals and borders appears to have

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waned by the early 1900s and replaced by patterned wallpaper and framed pictures (Betsinger 1970:142, 203).

Among the skilled Danish furniture and cabinetmakers in the Shelby/Audubon area were Niels Nielsen, who lived in Kimballton and Elk Horn and made custom made bookcases and cabinets, Carl C. Sorensen (or "Carl Flodt," or Carl Flute), who lived in Kimballton and made clocks and other fine furniture and was known for his intricate inlaid work, and Nis P. Hjuler, who lived near Kimballton and was a carpenter and blacksmith who made many pieces of small furniture and helped build and finish the interior of the Bethany Lutheran Church. It is also suspected that Hjuler may have had a talent for wood graining. Sorensen had spent nine years of apprenticeship in Denmark and, for a time, made interior woodwork for ocean liners prior to immigrating to the United States. It should be noted that most of the skilled Danish immigrant carpenters fashioned furniture in addition to building houses and barns. This was often done as a sideline or hobby (Betsinger 1970:60, 68, 169-170; History Book Committee 1983:1B-12; Hansen, personal communication 1991).

Typology

It was difficult to formulate a typology for properties associated with Danish immigrant decorative arts because of the paucity of surviving and even known examples associated with this context. Signe Betsinger's 1970 study located only a few examples of interior decorative painting and enameled wood graining. While the present study added two properties to this listing, the Jens T. Larsen house interior and the interior of the Bethany Church, it was also found that some of the examples of painting and wood graining noted by Betsinger have since been removed or covered up, most notably that in the Hans J. Jorgensen house and the Hans Madsen house. Some of the paintings in the Hartvigsen house were briefly uncovered when the interior was remodeled within the past year, but while they still exist, they are in poor shape and are no longer in public view. As for the decorative arts of furniture making, it was beyond the scope of the current project to either record or formulate a typology of Danish immigrant furniture, although the study by Betsinger does provide a wealth of information concerning this art and could form the baseline for future studies.

Examples of Danish immigrant decorative arts would be significant because they exemplify a Danish ethnic tradition transplanted to the American Midwest. As such, interior decorative paintings and early examples of wood graining would be significant at the local level, and if rare or exemplify the work of an important Danish immigrant artist, potentially the significance could be at the state or national levels. In the two county area it was found that examples of Danish immigrant decorative arts are extremely scarce and in various states of preservation. The best preserved examples are those of early interior wood graining, most notably that found in the interior nave of the Bethany Lutheran Church. This church is being nominated with this submittal primarily because of its historical association with the United Church synod, but also for the interior which exhibits this Danish decorative art.

Extant Examples. The following are the only known examples of interior Danish immigrant decorative arts in the two county area:

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Wood graining, interior of dining room, Jens T. Larsen house, Kimballton,
c. 1893-94

Wood graining, interior of nave, Bethany Lutheran Church, Sharon Township,
1898

Wood graining, interior, Erik Simonsen house, Sharon Township, 1879

Non-Extant Examples. The following are the only known examples of interior Danish immigrant decorative arts which are non-extant or have been covered over by subsequent alterations:

Painted decorative interior, Hans J. Jorgensen house, Kimballton, c. 1880s-
1890s

Painted decorative interior, Jorgen Hartvigsen house, Sharon Township,
Audubon County, c. 1895

Painted decorative interior, Hans Madsen house, Kimballton, c. 1895

e. Danish Communities

Within the main Danish settlement area of Shelby and Audubon counties, there were a number of communities, both incorporated and unincorporated or rural-based, that were either wholly comprised of Danish immigrants and their descendants, or were predominated by that ethnic group. With the exception of some of the German Catholic settlements in northwest Shelby County, there are no other communities in the two county area so dominated by a single, cohesive ethnic group. For the purposes of this document, a Danish community is herein defined as a concentration of Danish immigrants and their descendants in a bounded setting that includes both a commercial and residential base. The threshold for the definition of an ethnic community should be a substantial majority comprised of those of Danish birth and their first and second generation descendants which combined should comprise at least 90% of the total population within the first three decades of the community's founding. Furthermore, the definition should include that the community was founded by or for Danish immigrants. In the two county area there were two incorporated and six unincorporated communities that qualified as Danish communities under this definition during the 1865-1924 period of significance.

Incorporated Communities

Only two of the Danish communities in Shelby and Audubon counties achieved incorporated status, and these are Elk Horn in Shelby County and Kimballton in Audubon County. They are situated approximately three miles apart by road and less by the railroad which once connected these communities. Despite their common ethnic background, the two communities have at times in their history been divergent from one another, primarily as a result of the schism within the Danish Lutheran church. As noted above, this schism split not only the church congregations but the two communities as well, with Elk Horn aligning more with the Indre Mission Society and Kimballton with the Grundtvigians.

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The town of Elk Horn had its beginnings in the late 1860s as a settlement of Danish Adventists, founded by Christian Jensen, in a grove southwest of the present town in Clay Township. While this settlement never grew much beyond a church and a post office, it did serve as the nucleus for the new town situated a few miles to the northeast because Jensen was responsible for encouraging a number of Danish immigrants to settle in this area. The present location of the town of Elk Horn was first established in 1875 when the Danish Lutheran Church purchased land three miles northeast of the Elk Horn Grove settlement for the purpose of establishing a church. In 1878 the church founded the folk school which would further serve to anchor the town's early development. The town itself was not officially platted until 1901, achieving incorporated status in 1910. Elk Horn qualifies as a Danish community by the concentration of Danes and their descendants within its boundaries and its founding by Danish immigrants (Christensen 1987:6-7; Mackintosh 1988:49; White 1915:274-275).

The concentration of Danes and those of Danish descent in this community is illustrated by the 1910 census which enumerated a total population in Elk Horn of 362, of which 226 were of Danish descent and 129 were of Danish birth, for a combined total comprising 98% of the total population. The remaining 2%, or seven persons, were of non-Danish birth or descent. The significance of Elk Horn as a Danish community is further illustrated by the fact that this was a persistent Danish community, considering that 35 years after its establishment, the Danes and their descendants still comprised an overwhelming majority of its inhabitants (Christensen 1987:8).

Jette Mackintosh, in her recent study of the Elk Horn/Kimballton area, has noted that there were three separate waves in the total Danish immigration to the United States and that these are distinguishable in the settlement history of the Elk Horn/Kimballton area. Specifically,

The first wave in the late 1860s and early 1870s was not very pronounced in this area, where Danes only started to arrive in [numbers in] the late 1860s. Elk Horn was settled in 1868, and the second wave from 1880-1890 still tended towards that area, although Kimballton, which was officially platted in 1883, also began to attract many settlers as land in Elk Horn rose in price. In the third wave, after the turn of the century, a majority headed towards Kimballton and the rate of the immigration was even larger than in the second wave (Mackintosh 1988:49).

The town of Kimballton was the last village to be platted in Audubon County. It was originally surveyed in 1883 by Hans J. Jorgensen but was not officially platted by him until 1888. Kimballton achieved incorporated status in 1908. Hans J. Jorgensen had emigrated from Aero, Denmark, and established a farm in Sharon Township in the mid-1870s. He donated a portion of his farmland for the platting of the town as well as the land on which the first school and church were built. In addition to having been the town's founder and first postmaster, he also had the Kimballton Hotel built and helped establish the Landmands National Bank, a reorganization of the Kimballton Danish Savings Bank, which remains one of the town's most important institutions to the present day. He served as Vice-President of that institution and was a major stockholder. The hotel was a town landmark from 1909 until it burned in 1974. Many Danish immigrants, particularly craftsmen and laborers, first stayed in this hotel

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until they could establish their own homes. Hans J. Jorgensen also continued to operate his farm which was situated on the north edge of the town until his death in 1914 (Andrews 1915:287; Dunbar and Company 1889:683; History Book Committee 1983; Land Transfer Abstract). His farm home "was not alone the rendezvous of all political and official dignitaries; it was much more than that--it was a place where everyone could stay when they had no other place to go" (Landmands National Bank 1922:7). It is an understatement to say that Jorgensen "had an active part" in the development of the Danish community of Kimballton (Ibid.).

One interesting aspect of the settlement of Kimballton is that a number of the first settlers in this community, including Jorgensen, had emigrated from the island of Aero. Many had also worked in the railroad camp at Marne, Iowa. In contrast, Elk Horn had been settled by Danes who had emigrated from several places, and thus was less influenced by the views of one homogeneous group (Mackintosh 1988:59). Kimballton qualifies as a Danish community because of its founding by a Danish immigrant and the concentration of Danes within its boundaries. According to the 1910 census, Kimballton then had a total population of 241, of which 121 were of Danish descent and 114 were Danish-born, for a combined total comprising 98% of the total population. The remaining 2%, or six persons, were of non-Danish birth or descent. While the overall percentage of Danes and their descendants was the same as that found in Elk Horn, the concentration of Danish-born was 11% higher. Specifically, Danish-born in Elk Horn comprised 36% of the total population, while the Danish-born in Kimballton comprised 47%. This was likely due in part to the fact that Kimballton was established at a later date, but also in part to the fact that after 1900 Kimballton received more immigrants than Elk Horn during the third wave of Danish immigration to the area (Christensen 1987:8, 14; Mackintosh 1988:49).

By 1895 Elk Horn could boast of the Folk School, two ministers, several teachers, a variety of stores, six carpenters, four blacksmiths, two masons, a painter, a well-digger, and a harness maker. By comparison, Kimballton at that time had only a few stores and several craftsmen and was "still a very small immigrant community" (Mackintosh 1988:53). Five years prior to that time, cooperative creameries had been established in the two communities by two young Danish buttermakers who had come to the area together. Other area cooperative creameries were later organized from this original enterprise which had been established just eight years after the first cooperative dairy had been started in Denmark. Another early cooperative enterprise started in these communities was the Danish Mutual Fire Insurance Association founded in Elk Horn in 1886 (History Book Committee 1983:13; Mackintosh 1988:53; Shelby County Historical Society 1976:84).

The economic differences between the two communities had somewhat evened out by 1910 when both towns were experiencing a commercial and population boom owing in part to the construction of a connecting railroad and in part to the final influx of Danish immigration (Christensen 1987).

Both communities [by 1910] have a minister, a doctor, a postmaster, a bank president, and several teachers. Elk Horn also has a veterinarian. Telephone companies exist in both towns and a variety of stores, many with clerks, or saleswomen. Kimballton even has an

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automobile merchant with a machinist's garage....A notable feature in this busy period for both towns is the many hotels, restaurants, and boarding houses catering to the large number of unmarried people [and new immigrants]...There is a lot of railroad construction in the area at this time, although the local line [between Elk Horn and Kimballton] had been finished in 1907, and the hotel and catering business is booming. Also a large construction company has been started [in Kimballton] with several branches. In 1925 this great boom is over and most of the craftsmen and construction workers have moved on to other new areas. The towns have settled down to a more stable existence (Mackintosh 1988:53-54).

As noted above, the two towns were eventually connected by rail, with the construction of the Atlantic Northern Railroad in 1907-08 thus connecting the towns not only with each other but also providing each with a market outlet to Atlantic. This project was a joint effort by the two communities with the prime movers having been John Petersen, president of the Elk Horn Bank and Martin N. Esbeck, a prominent Kimballton businessman who was also instrumental in the establishment of the cooperative creamery at Kimballton. The railroad did much for the commercial development of Kimballton including the formation in 1911 of the Farmers Shipping Company, a cooperative association which shipped livestock for members on the railroad and provided supplies at lower costs (Christensen 1987:8, 15). However, despite this physical connection and their "parallel development in settlement and economic activity, the two towns, though only two miles apart, [showed] remarkable differences in their social, religious, cultural, and political behavior" (Mackintosh 1988:54). This can be linked in part to the Lutheran Church schism which divided the church followers into "liberal" and "conservative" factions. This division pervaded the social, cultural, and political activities of both communities, placing the towns at odds with one another on more than one front.

Rural Communities

In addition to the incorporated Danish-immigrant communities of Elk Horn and Kimballton, there were several other rural-based Danish communities in Shelby and Audubon counties which contributed to the overall development of the Danish settlement area. These included Rorbeck, Copenhagen, Prairie Rose, Jacksonville, and Poplar in Shelby County and Sharon in Audubon County.

Rorbeck was founded in the early 1900s by four Danish families who settled around a blacksmith shop in Clay Township, Shelby County, and was named after the immigrants' home in Denmark. The blacksmith shop had a windmill mounted on its roof to supply power, with a small steam engine as a stand-by when the wind was not blowing. It is not known if this windmill was similar in design to that on the early flour mill in Kimballton, and therefore it cannot be stated whether or not this architectural feature was transplanted from Denmark. In 1902 the Danish Brotherhood built the community's first store with an upstairs hall that they used for their lodge meetings. A post office was established in the store the following year. The store/lodge hall burned in 1913 but was soon rebuilt as a one-story building. However, the community failed to prosper and, by the late 1930s, Rorbeck had declined to the point that the blacksmith left and the Brotherhood hall was moved to another location. This community survives only as

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a potential archaeological site (Shelby County Historical Society 1976:82; Sweeney 1977; White 1915:282).

Copenhagen was very similar to Rorbeck in its history, although it was established at a much earlier date. This settlement was located in southwestern Jackson Township in Shelby County. It was founded in 1874-1880 by a group of Danish immigrants and, like Rorbeck, it was centered around a blacksmith shop which was operated by Hans Peter Nelsen Stendrup. In the 1870s a Danish Lutheran congregation was established in the area. This congregation met in two schoolhouses and did not have a formal church building until the construction in 1885 of the Bethlehem Lutheran Church near Jacksonville. In the mid- to late 1890s when the nearby community of Jacksonville became established as a trading center and post office, the Copenhagen settlement failed in its bid to become a stable community. Despite this decline, the blacksmith shop continued to operate until c. 1915. Like Rorbeck, this community survives only as a potential archaeological site (Book Committee 1977; Petersen, personal communication 1991; Shelby County Historical Society 1976:132-132; White 1915:127,401).

Prairie Rose was established in the late 1890s as a post office in Monroe Township, Shelby County, with Danish immigrant Rasmus J. Petersen as postmaster. The settlement eventually included a cooperative creamery, a blacksmith shop, and a general store which burned in 1908 but was rebuilt before burning again in 1926. The post office was discontinued in 1904, but the creamery and store continued to operate into the 1920s. This community also survives only as a potential archaeological site (Hansen 1990; White 1915:283).

Sharon was another small village similar to Prairie Rose and Rorbeck that was settled by Danish immigrants in the early 1890s. This community was founded around a cooperative creamery. Two of the known buttermakers were Bertel Jensen and Walter Nielsen. The creamery was soon followed by the establishment of a general store, a hardware store, a blacksmith shop, and a school. The original creamery burned down in 1910 but was rebuilt. It finally closed in the 1920s, although the community managed to survive for a time primarily on the strength of its public school. Following reorganization, the school was closed. At present, the village survives only as a collection of residences and vacant commercial buildings (History Book Committee 1983:II13-15).

Of the six rural-based communities under discussion, Jacksonville was perhaps the most successful. This community had its early beginnings in 1869 into the early 1870s when Danish immigrant farmers began to settle the southwest portion of Jackson Township. First among these settlers was the group of nine Danish immigrants, noted previously, who together purchased Section 16 in this township and comprised the first Danish Lutheran settlement in the county. As a business center, Jacksonville did not get started until the late 1890s when a post office and general store were established. Locally, the community had gone by the name of "Widowville" in prior years because several widows were among the local residents. The name Jacksonville was selected when the post office was established. By the early 1900s, the community had 12 businesses including an implement business, a general store, and a blacksmith shop. Of the 12 businesses in 1905-06, four were in the construction field including three carpenters and one bricklayer. In fact, during the first two decades of the

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twentieth century, a group of builders, primarily Danish immigrants, were based in Jacksonville and were responsible for the construction of a number of the houses, barns, and other outbuildings in Jackson Township (Christensen 1952:78; Shelby County Historical Society 1976:130-131; Iowa State Gazetteers 1905-06).

By 1915 Jacksonville was described as a "quiet country village" whose population was comprised "largely of Danish people who have retired from their farms" (White 1915:282). Later businesses in Jacksonville included a cafe, service station, grocery store, telephone exchange, hardware store, feed and tire store, and a trucking and grain business. Two Danish churches, Adventist and Lutheran, once served this community, although only the Lutheran church has survived. From 1903 to the late 1920s there was also a community hall in Jacksonville known as the Dannebrog Hall which was used as the Danish Brotherhood lodge and for other social functions. The community's position along Highway 44 (formerly Primary 7 and then Iowa 64) accounted for both its success and its decline. This roadway linked the community with the larger markets in Harlan and Kimballton thus effectively placing the community in a "middleman" position for the surrounding farmers. However, as the roadway improved so did the individual farmers' access to these larger markets and wider range of services, thus bypassing the "middleman" and sending the community into decline. At present, the town consists of only a few businesses and a clustering of houses (Shelby County Historical Society 1976:130-136).

Like Jacksonville, the area around the town of Poplar was initially settled in the 1870s-1880s by Danish immigrant farmers. As the settlement grew, so did the need for a community center where mail and essential goods and services could be readily obtained. In 1891 Danish immigrant Christ Christensen purchased property in Sharon Township in Audubon County on which a general store was built that same year. A post office was established in 1892 in the general store, with a blacksmith shop and lumberyard soon added. Lumber was hauled by wagon team to Poplar from the railroad station in Kirkman. Christensen served as the first postmaster as well as serving as one member of the company which operated the general store. That company, known as Chris Hansen and Company, also included Danish immigrants Chris Hansen, Paul Nielsen, and John Rosenbeck. Danish immigrant Valdemar Rasmussen operated the lumberyard and also did carpentry in conjunction with this business. In 1903 Rasmussen built a large, two story hall which housed a furniture store on the first floor and a social hall on the second. The general store and post office later moved into this building which was locally known as Rasmussen Hall. A livery barn, implement store, harness shop, and softball diamond were other additions to the community. In 1903 Danish immigrant Dorthea Lindstrom settled in Poplar and started a boarding house in a home situated to the east of the implement store. This house had originally been one story in height, but Mrs. Lindstrom added a second story to accommodate more boarders. In 1905 she married Danish immigrant A. P. Vithen who operated the implement store and later the general store (Book Committee 1985).

A cooperative creamery known as the Danish Separator Creamery, or the Buck Valley Creamery, served the Poplar community from 1894 until 1929. It was located between Jacksonville and Poplar. Buttermakers for this creamery included several from the Poplar community, including Martin Henricksen and Andrew Vithen, who both later, and independently of one another, operated the

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Settlers in Poplar seem to have been attracted by the widely advertised railroad land available there. Most of the families who became permanent settlers in Poplar, including Anders Rasmussen, A. M. Petersen, Samuel Johnson, and Jens Petersen, purchased land from the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad.

That education was important to the Danish immigrants is shown by the census data. All of the adults in the Poplar community could read and write, and only two males did not speak English, including Rasmus Rasmussen, who was the only head of household who did not own land, and Peter Jensen, a farm laborer. Seven of the spouses in the 20 households, or 35%, did not speak English. Therefore, Danish appears to have been a commonly used language throughout the community at the turn-of-the-century.

Typology

As noted above, the definition of a Danish community is based upon the concentration and persistence of a Danish immigrant population and their descendants, and that the community must have been founded by or for Danish immigrants. Two types of ethnic communities are present in the two county area: incorporated and unincorporated. Incorporated ethnic communities were not originally established as such, but persisted as a stable community to the point that incorporation could be achieved. Unincorporated communities, on the other hand, failed to achieve this stability and at varying rates eventually disappeared or greatly diminished in size and commercial activity. Some are evidenced only as archaeological sites, while others, most notably Poplar, are evidenced as an archaeological site with a significant portion of the historic farmsteads and landscapes of the community's hinterlands being relatively well preserved. When the ethnic community is preserved in some form in addition to its associated hinterlands, then an ethnic rural district potentially exists.

This is the case with the Danish community of Poplar, specifically in the preserved portion of its Jackson #1 School District which is being nominated with this submittal as the Poplar Rural District. The definition of this rural district is based upon the presence of identifiable historic properties primarily the farmsteads, or remnants thereof, of Danish immigrants and their descendants who settled, and persisted in the settlement, of this area. The boundaries of this district were determined by the integrity of the resources within the historic boundaries of the Jackson #1 School District. The range of potential property types associated with rural districts includes residences, commercial buildings, farmsteads, isolated farm buildings, rural school buildings, and the landscape components which can include the topography, field configurations, fencing patterns, road patterns, and the archaeological remains of former buildings and structures.

Historic research indicated a high degree of documentation of these immigrants as well as indicating that many were attracted to this particular area because of family or friend connections. Once here, their families often further connected through intermarriage. The significance of this rural district lies in the high integrity of its resources, the level of documentation, and most importantly, in the fact that it is one of the best preserved representations in the two county area of the rural Danish immigrant experience which further reflects many of the aspects of the Danish immigrant experience as a whole. This district includes the archaeological remains of the townsite of Poplar, the

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Poplar Store. Henricksen, a Danish immigrant, was also a prominent farmer in the Poplar community (Book Committee 1985:5-7, 222).

The village of Poplar, was a true "crossroads community" in every sense of the term as it was situated at the intersection of four townships and straddled the Shelby/Audubon county line. Roads extended north-south and east-west through the heart of this community. Christ Christensen surveyed lots in 1902, making further divisions in 1903 and 1905; however, he never recorded an official town plat. The store/post office was situated at the southeast corner of the crossroads which bisected the Poplar community in the northwest corner of Sharon Township in Audubon County (Figure E11). The lumberyard was situated west of the general store in the extreme northeast corner of Jackson Township in Shelby County, while the Rasmussen Hall, harness shop, livery barn, and blacksmith shop were north of the lumberyard in the extreme southeast corner of Polk Township in Shelby County. The implement store was situated to the east of the general store but faced the east-west road, while the general store faced the north-south road. There is no indication that there were ever any businesses or other buildings in the southwest corner of Douglas Township in Audubon County north of the general store (Figure E11) (Book Committee 1985).

The town was served by the Danish Lutheran Church (Grundtvigian synod) which was built on the north edge of town in 1907, although some community residents were members of the Danish Adventist church in Jacksonville and the Danish Baptist church in nearby Merrill's Grove. From all indications, it appears that the three religious groups mixed well in the Poplar community (Book Committee 1985). In spite of these religious affiliations, the community had a reputation as a "tough and wild place," and was the scene of "murders, some unsolved, of suicides, and other acts of violence" (Shelby County Historical Society 1976:208). However, it was also a lively community social center with dances, June 5th celebrations, and gymnastics classes regularly held in Rasmussen Hall. Church bazaars, Chautauquas, and July 4th celebrations were also held by the Poplar community in the A. M. Petersen Grove once situated on the ridgetop south of town (Book Committee 1985:9, 12).

The Poplar community was further served by four public school districts in Jackson and Polk townships in Shelby County and Sharon and Douglas townships in Audubon County. The school serving Poplar in Jackson Township was known as Jackson #1 and was built in 1884. In 1923 a new schoolhouse was constructed by carpenters Simon Hansen and John Jensen, with the original schoolhouse moved to the adjacent Clover Leaf Stock Farm. The children of Poplar received additional education at the Danish summer school sponsored by the Lutheran church and at the gymnastics classes taught by Hans M. Hansen, the town blacksmith who had learned gymnastics in Denmark as a young man. Being a predominantly Grundtvigian Lutheran community, it was of importance to continue Danish traditions in this new settlement. The arrival of the Danish language newspapers, including Den Danske Pioneer and the Decorah Posten were eagerly awaited at the Poplar post office (Book Committee 1985:7, 9-10, 193; History Book Committee 1983:II-13).

The Poplar post office closed in 1908 but the community continued to be served by several businesses until the early 1940s when the last business was closed and the buildings either removed or torn down. The church had closed in 1936

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and was torn down in the early 1940s. The blacksmith shop was the last building removed, having survived until 1976 as a garage and later as a barn. Ironically, the demise of this crossroads community was largely due to its having been bypassed by the improved road system in the 1920s (Book Committee 1985:14; Anonymous 1939a). It is situated one mile west of the main north-south paved highway in the area that extends south into Kimballton. Had it instead been situated along this highway, the community might have survived in some fashion. Except for two houses, one now being used only as a barn, the town of Poplar exists only as an archaeological site designated by the present investigation as sites 13AB7 and 13SH7 and being those portions of the townsite situated in the two counties. The former boarding house was the most recent casualty, burning to the ground in December 1990. However, of the farmsteads in Poplar's hinterland those to the southwest in Jackson Township have survived relatively intact and are a reflection of the Poplar community within Jackson #1 School District from 1884 when the first school was established until 1923 when the new schoolhouse was built.

Because of the integrity of the resources of the rural area of Poplar's Jackson #1 school district, a portion of this area including the archaeological remains of the Poplar townsite is being nominated as a rural district under this document. The qualifications of its designation as a rural district will be outlined in the typology for this section. The following is a presentation of the historical context of this rural district and should be utilized as a guideline in the designation of ethnic rural districts by future studies.

Poplar Rural District

The settlement of the rural Danish community of Poplar is illustrative of the patterns of Danish emigration which Hvidt researched and as previously discussed in this document. One of the founding families of Poplar was that of Anders Rasmussen. His father, Rasmus Rasmussen, was a small landholder married to Johanne Nielsdatter. They had at least eight children: Niels (born 3/24/1836), Dorthe (5/11/1840), Sara (6/1/1844), Anders and his twin Christen (9/11/1846), Maren Kirtine (5/2/1850), Christian (7/30/1855), and Jens (1853). Danish small landholders did not generally have enough land to support themselves and, as a result, they often worked as day laborers for other farmers often migrating in search of better conditions. Rasmus and Johanne Rasmussen lived in Hjulby, Nyborg, and North Lyndelse Parish on the Island of Fyn where all of the children were born. The family later moved to Fovliing Parish, Lintrup, and Vejen, all in Southern Jutland. As also typical of Danish families, the oldest son, Niels, remained in Denmark to eventually inherit his father's land, while the younger sons emigrated. Anders, aged 25; Christian, aged 16; and Jens, aged 18; emigrated from Lintrup to Davenport, Iowa/Moline, Illinois area. The three brothers, and perhaps a fourth, may all have emigrated in 1871 when Anders emigrated. While he was in Rock Island County, Illinois, Anders married Sophia Madsdatter, who had also emigrated from Lintrup Parish. Sophia, born 9/22/1845, was the youngest of ten children born to farm owner Mads Hansen Jensen and Ane Marie Sorensdatter (Hansen 1990).

In 1873 Anders and his brother, Chris, purchased land in Jackson Township from the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad. Sophia and Anders Rasmussen

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established a farmstead in Section 2, while Christian settled in Section 11 (Figure E12). In 1876 Christian sold his farm and went to the Black Hills of South Dakota as a prospector, as did a number of other Danes in search of adventure and wealth. Christian later returned to Poplar where he worked as a tinsmith and invented the "Easy Lift Gate." Anders and Sophia would have six children: Anna (8/11/1872), Martha (11/9/1874), Christian Alfred (7/20/1876), John (5/16/1879), Alexander (9/19/1881) who died while a student at Dana College, and George C. (7/30/1884) who became a veterinarian.

In 1880 Andrew Martin Petersen immigrated to Iowa to work on the farm of family friend Anders Rasmussen. His father, Peter Kaisen Petersen, was a farmer who owned the Annexgaard Farm in Lintrup Parish. That farm was situated on the south bank of the Kongea River which formed the boundary of the territory of northern Slesvig which was ceded to Germany in 1864. Peter Petersen and Sarah Marie Madsdatter had eight children: Key Petersen (5/29/1850), Mads Nissen (2/24/1852), Ane Margrethe (3/28/1854), Mette Kristine (Larsen) (9/12/1855), Kai Soren (4/24/1858), Toste Peter (11/26/1860), Andreas Martin (A. M.) (6/13/1863), and Hans Nissen (1/24/1867). Kai inherited the family farm (Hansen 1990).

Danes living in northern Slesvig after it was ceded to Germany still considered themselves to be Danish and resisted the efforts to impose German language and military conscription. Large numbers opted to emigrate. The Petersen family, living on the Annexgaard Farm, found themselves a few yards within this ceded territory. As a result, when A. M. Petersen was 17, he immigrated to the United States to avoid being drafted into the German army. Although the Kongea River is so narrow and shallow it posed no risk, young men crossing the border might be shot or arrested as deserters. The Annexgaard Farm is just south of the Foldingbro border crossing where there is a guard house capable of billeting a sizable contingent of guards. A woman living at Kajsminde Farm assisted young men in fleeing German territory by hiding them in the Kajsminde woods adjacent to the Kongea River, monitoring the movements of the border guards and telling the young men when to attempt a crossing (Jorgensen, personal communication 1991). When he was safe in Danish territory, Petersen signaled his family and then set off for America (Hansen, personal communication 1991). Once in the United States, he traveled by train as far as Walnut, Iowa, and then continued on to Poplar to the Rasmussen farm. The following year his brother T. P. also immigrated to the Poplar area. Their sister Mette Kristine had always hoped to immigrate, but she married, had children, and eventually could not afford to leave Denmark.

In 1889 Anders Rasmussen died leaving Sophia with six young children. It must have been helpful to her that her brother, John Mattson (Johannes Madsen) lived on the farm adjacent to hers on the north. John, born in 1831, was the third son in a family of ten children and had been a sailor. When he immigrated to the United States he traveled up the Mississippi River from the port of New Orleans to what is now Jordan, Minnesota. While farming there he met and married Philipena Schaufler, who had emigrated with her parents from Baden, Germany, also by way of New Orleans to Minnesota. Mattson and his wife migrated to the Poplar in the 1880s settling in Section 3 (Figure E12). He farmed 120 acres in Section 2, but his farmstead was actually situated across the road to the west on 240 acres in the northeast corner of Section 3.

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A. M. and T. P. Petersen worked for ten years to save their money so that in 1891 they were able to purchase land, clear it, and begin farming. At the age of 29 in 1892, A. M. married Sophia Rasmussen's oldest child Anna who was then 20 years of age. In 1895 he purchased a farm in Section 1 where c. 1905 he had carpenters James Barmington and Carl V. Andersen build him a large residence. By then he was a successful farmer with 440 acres and raised crops, hogs, sheep, and Shorthorn cattle which he shipped to the Omaha stockyards (Book Committee 1985:114-115). A. M. and Anna had eight children: Sophia, Harry, Sarah, Joseph, Mads, Martha, Elmer, and Alice.

In 1896, at the age of 35, T. P. Petersen married Martha, the second Rasmussen daughter, who was then 22 years of age. They lived in a modest home in Section 11 across the road from her mother's farmstead. T. P. owned 160 acres on which he raised Poland China hogs for breeding stock (Book Committee 1985:131). They had seven children: Stella, Horace, Kie, Anne, Maida, Allen, and Everett (Ibid.:132).

In 1895 at the age of 19, Christian A., Sophia Rasmussen's oldest son, married Martha (Maude) Bonnett, who was the daughter of German immigrants then living in Brayton, and began farming on his own. Chris A. lived in Section 2 and farmed 200 acres which had been part of his father's original landholding (Book Committee 1985:136). He named his farm "Clover Leaf Farm," and it became widely known for purebred Duroc Jersey hogs. He made extensive use of newspaper and catalog advertising and exhibited livestock at fairs throughout the state (Figure E13). At first he held hog sales in Harlan, but later he had a two story show ring built at the Clover Leaf Farm. The hog sale operation in its heyday has been described as follows:

Included in Mr. Rasmussen's 1908 catalogs of breeding stock were scheduled 18 arrival and departure times of trains into Harlan. Arriving by rail, the buyers had the option of renting rigs or they could be transported by a hired driver to the Rasmussen place. Lodging was provided if they desired. According to his catalog, his stock was crated and delivered to the Express Company at Harlan. Mail Orders were welcomed. The veterinarians, Dr. Carl Olson and Dr. George C. Rasmussen, brother of Chris, were in attendance at the sale arena (Book Committee 1985:222).

In 1915 the following account was given of Chris A. and his hog operation:

Shelby County is known as one of the best stock raising counties of Iowa, and many of the farmers of this county have attained statewide reputations as breeders. One of the younger stockmen who has attained more than a local reputation is Chris A. Rasmussen, who has shipped Duroc Jersey hogs from one end of Iowa to the other, and has made many exhibits at fairs throughout the state. He thoroughly understands every angle of stock raising and has merited the success which has come to him as a result of his efforts...He is one of the most extensive breeders of Duroc Jersey hogs in the county, and has won a statewide reputation for the excellence of his stock... He also handles Shorthorn cattle and is a shareholder in the Buck Valley Creamery Company. He makes a scientific study of cattle breeding and hog raising and has attained a success along these two different

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lines, which indicates that he is a man of excellent ability.... He has served as president of the school board of his township, and is highly interested in everything pertaining to the educational welfare of his township. He and his family are loyal members of the Danish Lutheran Church, in whose welfare they are deeply interested.... Mr. Rasmussen's farm is known as the 'Clover Leaf Stock Farm,' and is one of the attractive places in the county. He has all of the necessary barns and outbuildings for successful stock raising and takes a keen delight in keeping everything in good repair. He is still a young man and has a long and prosperous career stretching out before him (White 1915:1461-1462).

Ironically, within a few months after the publication of this account Chris Rasmussen committed suicide in despair over marital problems. His widow then sold the farm and moved to Atlantic, Iowa, with their two children, Edward and Elda (Book Committee 1985:136). John Rasmussen, Sophia's second son, never married and remained on the family farm assisting his mother with its operation (Book Committee 1985:135).

Another of the early settlers in Poplar was the Soren Jensen family who settled in the northwest corner of Section 2 (Figure E12). Soren, born in 1839, and Jensena (1840) emigrated from Albaek, Jutland, Denmark, in 1878 to the Poplar community with six or seven children: Chris N. (then aged 16), Mary Marie (12), Meta Lena (10), Magdalena (8), Carrie Helena (6), Peter (4), and Jens P. (age unknown). Martin P. was born in Poplar in 1883. When they emigrated, it is likely that Chris had already completed school, been confirmed in the church, and taken his place as an adult worker in the community. By emigrating as a family, particularly with so many school-aged children, the Jensens were among the minority of Danish immigrants. Soren established the Valley Stock Farm in the Poplar neighborhood. In 1883 Chris married Anna Mattson, who lived on the adjacent farm and was the daughter of John and Philipena Mattson (Book Committee 1985:71, 98).

Another of the first families of Poplar was that of Samuel Johnson. Samuel (9/12/1849) emigrated from Jutland, Denmark, in 1867 when he was 18 years of age. He settled in the Poplar neighborhood in 1877 with his wife, Anna Hansen, who had emigrated from Aero, Denmark, in 1870 when she was 30 years old. She married Samuel when she was 35 (1900 U. S. Population Census). Samuel purchased 40 acres in Section 1 in 1877 from the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad at a cost of \$320. He received a ten year contract at 6% interest (Book Committee 1985). Samuel and Anna had three children: Hans (5/28/1878), James (5/31/1885), and Mae. Hans Johnson became a local carpenter under the tutelage of Danish immigrant Carl V. Andersen.

Two of Anna Johnson's sisters and a brother, Thomas Hansen, also immigrated to the Poplar area. Her sister, Sidsel Marie Hansen, married Mikkell Rasmussen who was among the group of nine Danes who settled Section 16 of Jackson Township in 1869-1870 (Christensen 1952:78). Although he lived in Section 16, Mikkell had also purchased the northwest corner of Section 12 (Figure E12). When his nephew James Johnson married, Mikkell established him on this farm (Book Committee 1985:78).

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The farm to the south of Samuel Johnson's was that of A. Clemmen Christoffersen (7/16/1857). He and his brother, A. Christoffer, emigrated from Hune, Jutland, Denmark to Shelby County in 1881. The following year Karen Marie Andersen, born in 1858, emigrated from Jutland to Harlan, Iowa, and married Clemmen who had been working on a farm and at one of the Harlan brickyards. In 1891 he purchased a 100 acre farm in Section 1 from Rasmus and Mary Brodersen for \$2300. Clemmen and Karen had nine children, the oldest of whom was Karen Kristine born in 1883. Karen married the above-noted James Johnson in 1902 and moved to the Mikkell Rasmussen farm in Section 12. The other children were Minnie Elna (1885) who married above-noted carpenter Hans Johnson, Anna (1887), Gudick (1892), Elsie (1894), Clemmen Albert (1897), who worked with his brother-in-law Hans Johnson, Albert (1897), David (1899), Notman (1901), and Christian (Book Committee 1985:50).

Another family that settled in Section 1 was that of Rasmus Hansen born in 1862. He was the seventh of eleven children born to Hans Andersen Hansen and Kirsten Hansen, a farm family from Lille Rise Sogn on the Island of Aero. Because their oldest brother inherited the family farm, Rasmus (aged 23), four of his brothers, and two sisters emigrated from Denmark as was typical of the younger children of Danish farm families. Rasmus came first to the Poplar home of his cousin, Anne Marie Hansen who was married to Jens Petersen. In 1889 Rasmus married Maren Andersen, daughter of Hans Andersen and Maren Henricksen, and purchased an 80 acre farm in the southeast corner of Section 1. When she was 22, Maren had emigrated from Marstal, Aero, with her sister Eline Marie. They came to Kimballton to join their brother Laurits Andersen. As was typical of young Danish women who immigrated, Maren worked for a time as a domestic in the home of Fred Petersen. Rasmus Hansen was a successful farmer who eventually increased his holdings to 874 acres. In 1903 he hired Danish carpenter Carl V. Andersen to build a new corn crib and a larger barn on his farmstead (Book Committee 1985:64-65). Rasmus and Maren had five children: Hans A. (10/16/1889), Louis (6/19/1891), Anne Kirstine (11/2/1892), Christian (8/22/1894), and Martha Hansena (7/30/1896).

In 1902 Rasmus Hansen purchased the farm to his north from Christoffer Clausen, or Koch (Land Transfers). The following year his wife's parents, Hans Andersen (10/1/1835) and Maren Henriksen (10/9/1836) emigrated from Marstal, Aero, with their son, Hans, his wife Christine, and their three children. Before they had emigrated, father and son had been sailors, and the father owned a freighter ship that transported goods between Denmark, Sweden, Hamburg, Germany, and England. Hans and Maren eventually moved to the house which their son-in-law had purchased from Christoffer Koch (Book Committee 1985:29).

Christoffer Clausen Koch, born in 1836, and Anna Katrena Hansen, born in 1869, emigrated from Aero to Audubon County in 1887 (1900 U. S. Population Census). After arriving in Iowa, they married and eventually had six children whom they gave the surname of Clausen: Johannah, Jens, Stena, Lena, Martha, and Arthur (Book Committee 1985:55).

The other settler in Section 1 was Martin P. Henricksen who was born in 1867 in Lintrup Sogn, Denmark. He immigrated to Iowa in 1891 and attended the folk school in Elk Horn to learn English. He then operated the Buck Valley Creamery for three years. In 1898 he purchased a 120 acre farm in Section 1 (Figure E12) and built a barn. Two years later he built a corn crib, a machine shed, and a

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two story hog house which was banked into south-facing slope. In 1905 he hired carpenter Carl V. Andersen to build a large new house with a tower. In 1900 Martin had married Fredarikka Jensen, and they subsequently had six children: Mina, Arthur, Gladys, Olga, Harold, and Orvie, who was born after the family had left Poplar. In 1914 Martin traded his farmstead to A. P. Vithen for the general store in Poplar, but Henricksen soon sold the store and moved into Kimballton to establish the Sharon Motor Company. A few years later the family migrated to Texas (Book Committee 1985:67).

Data from the 1900 U. S. Population Census and archaeological evidence appear to indicate that the Rasmus Rasmussen family lived in Section 1 just north of the M. P. Henricksen house. Rasmus was born in 1861 in Denmark and emigrated in 1884. In 1890 he married Johanna, who was born in Norway in 1860 and emigrated in 1890 with a three year old Danish-born son named Peter. Rasmussen's had five children of their own who were all born in Iowa: Anna, Lawrence, Theodore, Julius, and Mary.

Jens Petersen was born in 1848 in Aeroskobing, Aero, and emigrated in 1869 to work near Marne and Avoca. Five years later he returned to Aeroskobing and brought Anna Marie Hansen back to Iowa to be married. Anna Marie, born in 1855, was a first cousin of Rasmus Hansen (Christensen 1991). In 1884 Jens purchased 200 acres in Section 12 from the railroad paying \$360 for 40 acres and \$1120 for the remaining 60 acres. The Petersens had seven children: Mike, Chris, Mary, James, Hans, Lars, and Carrie (Book Committee 1985:123). Jens' son Mike became a carpenter in the area working first on Carl V. Andersen's crew. It is likely that Mike helped build the barns and outbuildings on his father's farmstead using techniques he had learned from Andersen. In the 1880s, Jens' brother Lars farmed across the road to the west in Section 11 (Figure E12).

Lars Albertsen Christensen was born in 1859 on Aero and immigrated in 1881, joining his brother Jorgen who had immigrated the previous year. As carpenters they helped build the Cass County Courthouse in Atlantic. Brothers Chris H. and John J. and sister Anna later immigrated to Lars' farmstead in Section 12 (Figure E12). The Christensens were second cousins of Rasmus Hansen and Anna Marie Hansen Petersen (Christensen 1991). In 1887 Marie Kristine Petersen (born 1856) emigrated from Rise Mark, Aero, Denmark and married Lars. They had three children: Agnine Rasmine, Chris Larsen, and Rasmus (Book Committee 1985:37).

In 1900 Lars' brother John J. was living with them, but he later moved to his own farm in Section 11 (Figure E12) which had been previously owned by Jens Nelsen. John J. was a bachelor and community influential who was secretary of the Buck Valley Creamery, township assessor, and a charter member of the Danish Brotherhood Lodge (Book Committee 1985:45).

Another settler in Section 12 was Swen Madsen, who was born in 1841 and emigrated from Denmark in 1872 with his wife Karen, born in 1843, and two-year-old daughter, Mary. In 1882 a son, Andrew, was born. The 1900 U. S. Population Census indicates that the Madsens were then divorced and that Carry Madsen, also divorced and a Danish immigrant, was a servant in the household.

Jens (John) Nelson, who was born in 1856, emigrated from Denmark in 1869. Katie (Katherine) M., born in 1846, emigrated from Denmark in 1878 and married Jens.

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They had a farmstead on 40 acres in Section 11 and two other 40 acre parcels in Section 2 (Figure E12). In 1887 the Nelsons adopted two-year-old Katie, who had been born in Denmark (1900 U. S. Population Census). John J. Christensen purchased this farm in the early 1900s.

Another settler in Section 11 was Chris Nelson, Jr., who was born in 1866 and emigrated from Denmark in 1878 with his parents Chris, Sr. and Maren Sophia. Christina, born in Denmark in 1869, emigrated in 1885 and married Chris, Jr., three years later. They had four children: Thor, Morten, Anna Sophia, and James. Chris was widowed and later married Antenena, who had emigrated from Denmark (History Book Committee 1983:110).

Also living in Section 11 was Lauritz Jensen who was born in 1867 in Tranderup, Aero, Denmark, the seventh of eight children born to a farming family. He migrated to Dunksaer, Aero, where he learned the shoemaking trade before emigrating from Voderup, Aero, in 1889. A sister and brother also immigrated to the United States, while another brother immigrated to New Zealand. Lauritz left for the United States on the ship "Denmark," but it took on water and eventually sank. After three days he was rescued by a cattle ship, the "Missouri," which was bound for the Azores. He eventually arrived in the United States without any possessions and went first to Chicago for a year where he worked as a shoemaker and a gardener. He then migrated to Shelby County where he worked on the farms of Lars Christensen and Lars Hansen. It was there, in 1899, that he met and married Karen Marie (Mary) Petersen who had been born in 1881 to Eske and Karen Petersen, Danish immigrants living in Jackson Township (Hansen, personal communication 1991).

Finally, John B. Nissen farmed the southwest quarter of Section 11. It appears that he probably did not live in the house on that farmstead but rather lived on a farmstead in the northeast quarter of Section 15 (Figure E12). John had been born in 1836 and emigrated from Slesvig in 1869. His wife, Lena, born in 1842, and their two-year-old son, John, joined him the following year. They had seven other children, all born in Iowa: Christine, Christian, Charles, Peter, Mine, Henry, and Johanna (1885 Iowa State Population Census). Danish born carpenters Carl V. Andersen and Viggo Rasmussen and carpenter Mike Petersen, the son of Danish immigrant Jens Petersen, were living at the Nissen farm at the time of the 1900 U. S. Population Census, presumably to construct the buildings on the Nissen farm which included land in Sections 11, 10, and 15.

Because of the unusual level of documentation which exists, the Jackson #1 School District of the rural community of Poplar provides a microcosm for examining the outcomes for the Danish emigrants from 1868-1900 whom Kristian Hvidt so carefully studied. Through local efforts to preserve their Danish heritage, the citizens who lived in this district in 1900 can be accurately identified. In addition, histories of most families, historical photographs of many residents and their homes, and written and photographic documentation of many of the farm buildings are available as well as the identification of the homes in Denmark from which some of them had emigrated. A high percentage of the historic homes and farm buildings are extant with relatively few intrusions. Therefore, the Jackson #1 School District of Poplar retains much of the appearance and feeling of the turn-of-the-century rural Danish community. From the results of the ethnic survey of Shelby and Audubon counties, there appears to be no other rural community in the Danish settlement area of the two county

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area where this level of documentation has survived and particularly where the historical resources have been so well preserved beyond isolated buildings and farmsteads.

Nineteen of the twenty households in Jackson #1 School District of Poplar (hereafter simply called Poplar) were headed by a Danish immigrant, while the remaining household was headed by the son of Danish immigrants. Poplar was settled in the 1870s-1880s with the 1880s being the peak decade of emigration of its residents just as it was for Danish emigration in general. Few Danes emigrated before the 1860s, and John Mattson, who emigrated in 1854, was the only Poplar resident to emigrate so early, although he did not migrate to Poplar until 1882. Although Danish emigration continued through the 1920s, with a gradual tapering off, all of the lands in Poplar were settled by 1890, and there was little immigration after that year. Specifically, only five residents of Poplar in 1900 had emigrated after 1890. However, the period of significance of this community extends into the early 1920s because, by that time, the farms had been fully established and developed (Nielsen 1981:34; 1900 U. S. Population Census).

Hvidt (1975:39) found that 50% of Danish emigrants were from Copenhagen, and Zealand and the islands, while the other 50% came from Funen and Jutland. All of the Poplar settlers whose specific place of emigration is known came from the area identified as Funen and Jutland, with half coming from the small Island of Aero and half from Jutland. Of the Jutland emigrants, half came from the village of Lintrup and its surrounding area. The concentration of emigrants from these small geographic areas is consistent with the proclivity of the Danes to learn about America from their relatives and friends and then to immigrate to areas where they already knew someone. Informants on Aero stated that in the nineteenth century the island had almost twice the population that could be sustained. Thus, all the sons except for the eldest were encouraged to emigrate as were the adventurous and troublemakers (Groth 1991).

Not surprisingly, the Poplar settlers predominantly were from rural areas of Denmark. This is more consistent with the pattern of immigration to Iowa than with the pattern of total Danish emigration (Hvidt 1975:173). Hvidt reported that 43% of Danish emigrants were rural laborers, but almost all of the settlers in Poplar had been rural laborers in Denmark. Following Danish tradition, the oldest son inherited his father's land forcing the younger children to seek employment elsewhere. This is what happened in the families of Anders Rasmussen, A. M. and T. P. Petersen, John Mattson, Rasmus Hansen, and Lauritz Jensen. If these younger children of farmers had remained in Denmark, they could have expected a life of poverty as day laborers, but the United States held out the prospect of a better life and economic improvement. In Poplar that dream was realized by the Danes, with most settlers purchasing their own farms within ten years of the time that they emigrated. Within 20 years, most immigrants had built large barns and a new house on their farmsteads.

Craftsmen were underrepresented among the residents of Poplar. There were only two settlers who were craftsmen, shoemaker Lauritz Jensen and buttermaker Martin Henricksen. Both were farmers in Poplar although Henricksen also managed the Buck Valley Creamery for a time. A Danish immigrant blacksmith did work in the commercial community of Poplar, but did not live in the Jackson #1 School District. The Danish immigrant craftsmen of the district are perhaps best

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represented by Carl V. Andersen and Viggo Rasmussen and by Mike Petersen, the son of immigrants. These carpenters were temporary residents of Poplar who were living with John Nissen in 1900 while they worked on his farmstead. When that work was completed, they moved on to another work site. However, these highly skilled craftsmen left evidence of their workmanship and creativity in the houses and barns of Poplar.

Surprisingly, sailors, who comprised only 0.6% of all Danish emigrants (Hvidt 1975:107), were overrepresented in the Poplar community. This segment of the population included sailor John Mattson, who settled on the Poplar farm next to that of his sister, Sophia Rasmussen, and the ship-owning parents and sailor brother of Maren Andersen (Mrs. Rasmus) Hansen, who joined her in the Poplar community in 1904.

According to Hvidt's (1975:92) analysis, the wave of Danish emigrants was comprised primarily of young single people with single men emigrating twice as often as single women. Danish youth completed school at age 14, were confirmed in the church, and considered to be an adult, but they did not marry until the average age of 29. Most Danes emigrated after confirmation and before marriage. Because of the importance attached to education, when families did emigrate they usually did so before their children were of school age. Two of the three Poplar families who emigrated had only one child who was 2-3 years of age. However, five of the adults, including three laborers, had emigrated when they themselves were children aged 9-13. The Soren Jensen family was atypical in immigrating with at least six children aged 4-16.

Forty-two percent of the emigrants Hvidt studied were aged 15-24, while 45% of the Danes living in Poplar in 1900 were aged 15-24 when they emigrated with all having been single. Twenty percent of the Danish emigrants living in Poplar in 1900, in comparison to 8% of all emigrants, were aged 30-34, and all except one of these Poplar residents was married or a single woman. Danish women emigrants were older than the male emigrants, with only three Poplar women emigrating before the age of 23. While young single Danish men, such as A. M. Petersen, were the first in their families to emigrate, the single women of Poplar immigrated to be brides or to join family members already living in the area.

Just as Hvidt (1975:92) found, 60% of Poplar immigrants were unmarried when they emigrated and almost twice as many single men as women immigrated. According to informants on Aero, families encouraged sons to emigrate but hoped daughters would be able to marry and remain on the island. This may also explain why single women were so much older when they immigrated to Iowa (Groth 1991). To compensate for the shortage of Danish immigrants for brides, some of the men married immigrants from other countries as did John Mattson, who married a German, and Rasmus Rasmussen, who married a Norwegian. Five of the 19 immigrant heads of households married women who were daughters of Danish immigrants.

In Poplar, as Hvidt found, many immigrants left Slesvig because of the German occupation. Twenty-five percent of the Poplar residents, whose place of emigration is known, emigrated from the Lintrup area just south of the 1864 Danish border in Slesvig. A. M. and T. P. Petersen emigrated specifically to avoid being drafted into the German army.

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farmsteads and farmlands of portions of Sections 1, 2, 11, and 12 within the Jackson #1 School District, and the Jackson #1 school itself. As stated previously, and based on surviving resources, the period of significance dates from 1884 when the first school was established to 1923 when the second Jackson #1 schoolhouse was built. By that time the area had been completely settled and the farmsteads established and improved upon.

In addition to the rural community of Poplar, the ethnic survey recorded buildings and sites in the incorporated Danish communities of Elk Horn and Kimballton. A total of 25 commercial buildings, 32 residential buildings, and two archaeological sites were recorded within these communities.

In general, the Danish community contains several property types which by their association comprise the community. Communities are defined by the composition and persistence of its population, the recognition or platting of definable community boundaries, and the presence of residential and commercial property types. Incorporated communities are larger in population and size and of longer duration. The commercial buildings of these communities evolved from early frame buildings to more substantial masonry buildings as the community developed and prospered. Of the 25 commercial buildings recorded in the Danish communities of Kimballton and Elk Horn, 22 (88%) were constructed of locally made brick, clay tile, or concrete block. The majority were also one story in height, with only a few two story buildings in existence, both in the present and historically.

Unincorporated communities were smaller in population and size and of limited duration, if they were unable to achieve stability and growth to the point of incorporation. The commercial buildings of these communities generally remained the first generation frame buildings, often of a false-front configuration. One story buildings were the norm, although having at least one two-story building with a second floor hall was typical of the Danish rural communities in the two county area. Commercial enterprises were generally limited to mercantile services, although the lumber and blacksmith trades were common to Danish communities of all sizes.

Danish communities are significant because they represent the most cohesive unit of ethnic settlement beyond the individual household. As such they can represent a microcosm of the full range of the immigrant experience. The significance of the Danish community in the two county area lies in the fact that its historic properties reflect the Danish immigrant experience as well as in the social, religious, and cultural dynamics of this experience as it was played out on the Iowa prairie. For these reasons, the Danish community is potentially significant at the local level. If that community is further associated with key events in the development of Danish immigrant communities or with key individuals in this development, or if they represent the best preserved example of a Danish immigrant community in the state or nation, then the ethnic community is potentially significant at those levels. The Poplar Rural District is significant at the state and national levels because it is associated with the settlement and farming patterns of the largest rural Danish immigrant settlement in Iowa and the United States, with the district appearing much as it did in the early 1900s.

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Extant Examples. The following are the existing Danish immigrant communities that were established and developed during the 1865-1924 period of significance:

Poplar Rural District, Jackson and Polk townships, Shelby County and Sharon Township, Audubon County, 1884-1923 (archaeological and architectural components)

Kimballton, Audubon County, Platted 1883, Incorporated 1908

Elk Horn, Shelby County, Established 1868, Platted 1901, Incorporated 1910

Jacksonville, Shelby County, Established late 1890s

Sharon, Audubon County, Established early 1890s

Non-Extant Examples. The following are Danish immigrant communities that no longer exist except as potential archaeological sites:

Rorbeck, Shelby County, 1902-1930s

Copenhagen, Shelby County, 1874-1920s

Prairie Rose, Shelby County, mid-1890s-1920s

f. Danish-Influenced Communities

In addition to the communities in Shelby and Audubon county that were settled primarily, if not exclusively, by Danish immigrants, there were several other communities whose populations came to include notable numbers of Danish settlers. These communities included Harlan in Shelby County and Audubon, Hamlin, Exira, and Brayton in Audubon County. By definition a Danish-influenced community is one whose population included the persistent presence of Danish immigrants and their descendants, who combined comprised at least 25% of the community's total population at some point during the 1865-1924 period of significance, most likely within the three decades when the largest influx of Danish immigration into the area occurred, the 1890s-1910s. From initial examinations of the census data from communities such as Harlan and Audubon, where there were concentrations of Danes comprising 25-30% of the respective populations, it appeared that in the 1890s-1910s, the Danes tended to be listed in groupings which suggest Danish neighborhoods. Time did not permit a field examination of this potential, but it is known that the area of East Court and Market streets in Harlan was historically something of a Danish neighborhood. By Danish influence, it is meant that this ethnic group was present in a substantial enough concentration to have had some impact on the religious, political, social, and economic aspects of these communities, and that this impact might be discernible in the historical resources of these communities. This impact survives to a certain extent in the oral traditions and historical accounts of these communities, where local residents were cognizant of Danish areas within their communities. One example is the repeated references in the 1915 Audubon County history to the fact that "one-third" of the population of the town of Audubon in the early 1900s was Danish. One does not find such

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references concerning the other ethnic groups, including the Germans, who were present in notable numbers at the same time in Audubon. Obviously, this 30% was a substantial enough statistic to warrant the acknowledgment of the general community.

Of the foreign-born heads-of-household listed as Harlan residents in 1885, 42% (n=59) were from Denmark with 22% (n=30) from Germany. The next highest foreign group was from Canada (n=15) (1885 State Population Census). By 1910 the Danish-born heads-of-household comprised 62% (n=121), with the next highest being German-born at 16.5% (n=32) (1910 U. S. Population Census). Danish immigrants were influential in the economic, social, and religious development of Harlan. The Danish religious congregations included those of the Danish Baptists and the United Church synod of the Lutheran Church. The latter maintained a parochial summer school in the early 1900s, and between 1897 and 1910 the religious journal of the Danish Baptist Church, the Vaegteren, was published out of Harlan. This and several other Danish publications were printed out of the "Danish Printing Office" which also did a great deal of job printing. The Danish Brotherhood also had an active lodge in Harlan. Among Danish immigrants influential in Harlan's commercial and industrial development were C. C. Rasmussen, who along with his sons operated the Harlan Roller Mills, and J. P. Sorensen, who established the first brickyard in the county in 1880 at Harlan. This brickyard employed between nine and sixteen men, had two kilns, and drying sheds for 44,000 brick. The brickyard had a capacity of one million bricks, and it is likely that many of the early brick buildings and homes in Harlan were constructed with this brick. It is known that the brick business blocks built by James M. Long in 1881-82 were constructed of bricks from Sorensen's yard. Sorensen was also influential in encouraging his countrymen to settle in Shelby County and he is credited with bringing more than 100 Danish immigrants to this area by 1889 (Anonymous 1979; Dunbar and Company 1889:373; Louis 1903:36; White 1915:372, 401, 504-505).

In Audubon County, Danes comprised sizable proportions of the populations of Brayton, Hamlin, and Exira. This ethnic group was also well represented in the county seat. Of the foreign-born heads-of-household recorded in the town of Audubon in 1885, 33% (n=13) were German, 18% (n=7) Canadian, 15% (n=6) English, and 13% (n=5) each were Danish and Irish-born (1885 State Population Census). By 1910 there had been a significant influx of Danish immigrants who now comprised 50% (n=67) of the foreign-born heads-of-household, while the Germans had dropped to the next highest percentage at 25% (n=33). The 1910 foreign-born population of Audubon also included a fairly large number of Danish immigrants who were living in boarding houses at that time (1910 U. S. Population Census). Many of these were likely new immigrants to the region. As with the census records for Harlan, it is suspected that there were also Danish neighborhoods in Audubon. By 1915 it was estimated that the Danish comprised 30% of the total population of Audubon (Andrews 1915). Among the tangible influences of the Danes in the town of Audubon were the Danish Adventist church and the Danish Lutheran church (United Church synod). A Danish newspaper, Dansk Folketidende, or Danish Peoples News, was printed in Audubon for two years starting in 1891 before being moved to Elk Horn (Andrews 1915; Book Committee 1978b).

By 1910 Danish immigrants comprised the greatest percentage of the foreign-born heads-of-households in the Audubon County town of Brayton at 83% (n=15) (1910 U. S. Population Census). Tangible Danish immigrant influences in Brayton

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included the fact that the western half of the town was settled largely by Danes, the hotel was owned and operated by a Dane, and the cement works which was founded in 1912 by Henningsen and Jensen who had earlier founded the cement factory in Kimballton. The Brayton Cement Works was subsequently operated by Thorvald and Viggo Rasmussen until 1958 and later by Gary Brewer, Steven May, and Herluf Jensen. The factory was torn down in 1971. The Danes in Brayton included both Baptists and Grundtvigian Lutherans. There was also a Danish Brotherhood lodge organized in Brayton in 1888 with 10 charter members (Andrews 1915; Book Committee 1978a; Dunbar and Company 1889:680).

Exira was the first county seat in Audubon County before losing out to the town of Audubon. The population of Exira, like that of Audubon, was comprised of a sizable proportion of Danish immigrants among whom was the first Danish settler in the county, Jens Uriah Hansen. Hansen was a Danish carpenter who immigrated to Audubon County in 1869 and settled in Exira Township. While he did not actually reside in the town, he was responsible for the construction of many of the early frame buildings and homes in Exira. These included the homes of John D. Bush and Charles Van Gorder and the Congregational Church built in the early 1870s. Hansen eventually settled on a farm in Sharon Township, but continued to build into his old age. His son, Lawrence, also became a carpenter who built "many homes in Exira, Atlantic, and Stuart" (Wood 1967). However, by 1910, 57% (n=31) of the foreign-born heads-of-household were Danish, with the next highest percentage being German at 28% (n=15) (1910 U. S. Population Census). Among tangible influences of the Danish population in Exira were the cooperative creamery started in 1903 and operating until 1969, the Danish Lutheran Church of the United Church synod, the Danish Adventist Church, and the Danish Brotherhood Lodge. Danes were also among those involved in the building industry and lumberyards of Exira, although not to the exclusion of other ethnic groups and often in conjunction with these other groups (Andrews 1915:266, 290; Book Committee 1957; Book Committee 1982).

The small village of Hamlin was first called Hamlin Station and was established along the railroad. While it was not founded as a Danish settlement, its population came to be predominated by this ethnic group in the early 1900s. Danish immigrant influences on the town's development included the lumberyard and cement works managed by Fred O. Andersen, the cooperative creamery operated by Marinus Nielsen, and the United Danish Lutheran Church built in 1904. That this village was not originally a Danish community is evident in the fact that in its early days the town also supported Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian churches (Andrews 1915:206-218, 286).

Typology

The time constraints of the present investigation did not allow for the investigation of the historic resources potentially associated with Danish influenced communities, therefore, a typology cannot be constructed. This context is provided as a guideline for future investigations which should undertake an examination of this important facet of the Danish immigrant settlement of the two county area. It is expected that Danish residential neighborhoods did exist in these communities and may still be evident in the surviving residential architecture of Harlan, Audubon, Brayton, Exira, and Hamlin, or with important commercial and industrial buildings, sites, or districts in these communities. Nine residences were recorded in the "Danish"

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half of Brayton and 28 residences were recorded in Exira but too many are, at present, lacking in site histories to substantiate possible Danish connections.

g. Farming Industry

Because many of the Danish immigrants were farmers by vocation, it is not surprising that the Danish settlements of Shelby and Audubon counties were predominantly agricultural in orientation. The focus of this agricultural settlement was largely predetermined by the immigrants' prior experiences in Denmark. As noted previously, the fall in grain prices and the loss of two-fifths of Denmark's agricultural lands in the late nineteenth century forced Danish agriculture to shift from the raising of grain for export to the raising of hogs, poultry, and milk cows. The development of producer cooperatives evolved out of this shift (Petersen 1987:63). This agricultural pattern was easily transplanted to the Iowa prairie with the one addition of the American tradition of cattle raising for beef. The Danish agricultural settlements in Audubon County were described in 1915 by the following:

These Danish people have become an important factor in the affairs of Audubon County. They are largely devoted to agricultural pursuits, for which they are peculiarly well qualified. As farmers they are not excelled. Starting as poor men, they now own hundreds of magnificent farms, under a high state of cultivation, with handsome dwellings and home lots, fine barns and farm buildings for sheltering stock and housing grain and hay, fields and pastures thoroughly fenced and stocked with the best breeds of horses, cattle, hogs, poultry, etc. The tidy, thrifty appearance of their farms attest to the industry and prosperity of the owners (Andrews 1915:294-295).

The Danish farmers of Shelby County in 1915 were similarly praised as "frugal, industrious, and progressive" (White 1915:128). This is not to say that livestock and poultry raising was exclusive to the Danish settlements, but rather that this type of farming, already part of the Danish experience in their homeland, was also becoming the focus of the area's agriculture at the time of Danish immigration. The early agriculture of the Shelby/Audubon area into the 1870s was more typical of subsistence level farming, but after the 1870s, the area's farming and that of the state of Iowa as a whole was becoming fully involved in the market production of hogs and cattle. This was also the time when Danish immigration began to have an impact on the area, and they brought with them agricultural experience which worked well in the region. That they prospered in this pursuit and made a major contribution to the area's agricultural development is evident. After the 1920s the pendulum began to swing back towards the predominance of grain production to which was added the production of soybeans in the 1940s. At the same time, the seed corn industry began to have an impact on the Shelby/Audubon area (Shelby County Historical Society 1976; White 1915:366).

Yette Mackintosh recently published a study of the ethnic patterns in Danish immigrant agriculture in Shelby and Audubon counties and found statistical correlations for the some of the above observations (Mackintosh 1990). Utilizing agricultural census data from 1917-1925, Mackintosh found that the

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community of Danish immigrant farmers in the two county area, "utilized agricultural practices, in the period around 1920, which were markedly different from those of their neighbors, and had an affinity with Danish farming traditions" (Ibid.:59). Specifically, she demonstrated that:

Danish immigrant farmers tended to own their farms, which were, however, rather small and farmed them very intensively with a relatively high productivity of both crops and livestock. In some townships they also showed a pronounced interest in dairy farming, which was consistent with Danish buttermaking and cooperative traditions, even though they were by no means alone in this respect in the area (Ibid.:77).

The average Danish immigrant farm size was between 133-148 acres, while in townships of mixed backgrounds, the average size was 181 acres, with the 1920 state average being 157 acres. This tendency appears to have a correlation with the Danes' experience in Denmark where very few had any prospect of ever owning land, "so to them even 80 acres was a large area" (Ibid.:71). The trend of farm ownership was also found to be true of Westphalia Township where there was a high concentration of German immigrants, and it was concluded that this tendency was "not exclusively a Danish ethnic feature, but rather a function of strongly ethnic communities in general." There further appears to be a strong link between the high livestock production of the Danish settlement area of the two counties and Danish agricultural traditions as previously noted. Perhaps what is most significant about this study, is that this ethnic farming pattern was "maintained over a period of fifty years," long after the initial immigrant settlements and "required the reinforcement of the [ethnic] group to retain a specifically ethnic culture" (Ibid.:77), thus demonstrating another aspect of the persistence of Danish ethnicity in the two county area.

A Danish immigrant farmer who settled early in the area was Erik P. Simonsen who had been born in 1849 in Lille Rise, Aero, Denmark. He immigrated to the United States in 1877 when he was 28 years old and worked for two years in the Bowman's Grove area of Shelby County and then in Cass County before purchasing sixty acres on the south side of Kimballton. His farm operation has been described as follows:

Engaged in general farming, Mr. Simonsen prospered from year to year and, as new land was added, broke the sod and reduced the soil to an excellent state of cultivation. He was accustomed to feed about one hundred and fifty head of hogs every year, fifty head of cattle, and to raise ninety acres of corn. In 1913 his corn averaged sixty bushels to the acre, and in that year he also raised fifty acres of small grain, all of which was fed to hogs and cattle. Coming to America with only eight hundred dollars, Mr. Simonsen has been able to increase his wealth until he now owns two hundred and twenty-seven acres of fine farming land in Sharon Township (Andrews 1915:821).

Simonsen had first learned farming in his native land having worked as a farm hand there after he had finished his schooling. To this work experience he added the above-noted two years working as a farm hand following his arrival in the United States in the Shelby/Cass county area before he purchased his own farm. That he was able to successfully adapt the agricultural techniques he

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learned in both Denmark and the United States to the Iowa prairie is evident in the above-quoted 1915 biographical account. That his experience was fairly typical of the Danish immigrant farmers who settled Audubon and Shelby counties is also evident in the agricultural history of this area, even though his farm size was eventually larger than average (Andrews 1915:821-822; Mackintosh 1990).

According to the 1880 Agricultural Census, in his first year of production, Simonsen's farm operation consisted of the following: 34 acres of improved land, 66 acres unimproved, two horses, four milk cows, ten other cows, 300 pounds of butter, 20 hogs, 16 poultry, 19 acres of corn (800 bushels), seven acres of oats (165 bushels), eight acres of wheat (140 bushels), and 0.75 acres of potatoes (50 bushels). Compared with the census data from Audubon County, this 100 acre farm was close to, but smaller than, the average farm size of 115 acres. Further, the predominance of hogs, cattle, and poultry raising on this farmstead reflects that the trends of the Danish settlement area (Mackintosh 1990).

By the early 1900s, the Danish settlement area was fully involved in livestock raising as evidenced by the number of stock farms noted in the 1911 Shelby County and 1921 Audubon County plat books. Following the tradition practiced in Denmark, the settlers also appeared to take particular pride in the naming of these farms, more so than other farms in the county. The overall importance of stock raising in the area gave rise to several large ranch operations, two of which are of particular note. These are the Escher-Ryan operation in Douglas Township in northeast Shelby County and the Cameron operation in Cameron Township in north-central Audubon County. The former was involved in the breeding of Aberdeen Angus brought over in four importations from Scotland, while the latter was one of the largest ranches in Audubon County at a total of over 1400 acres and was "well stocked with high-grade [Hereford] cattle, hogs, and horses" (Dunbar and Company 1889:818). By comparison with the Simonsen farm, the 1880 agricultural statistics for the Cameron ranch consisted of the following: 540 acres improved, 100 acres unimproved, \$1000 spent on farmhand wages, 50 tons of hay, 12 horses, two mules, three milk cows, two other cows, 100 hogs, 300 pounds of butter, 75 poultry, 20 acres of barley (375 bushels), 270 acres of corn (11,000 bushels), and 250 acres of wheat (3750 bushels).

The Cameron ranch typified the pattern of the day, wherein, new immigrants, including many Danes, were hired on as farmhands until they could establish themselves on their own farms. William Cameron, although not of Danish descent, did employ a number of Danish immigrants thus giving them their first start in America. It was also the pattern for Danish farmers already settled in the area to hire new immigrants from their homeland. After Cameron's death in 1892, his widow, Elizabeth, married H. N. "Nels" Christensen, one of the Danish immigrants employed on the ranch. Christensen then took over the operation of the Cameron Ranch, now more commonly known as the Christensen Ranch, and it flourished under his management until his retirement in the 1930s. The prominent feature of both the Escher-Ryan and Cameron ranches is the extremely large barns that were built to house these livestock operations (Book Committee 1981:20-21, 159; Hays n.d.; White 1915:358-359).

As noted by Mackintosh (1990), smaller livestock farms were more typical of the Danish settlement area than of the two county area as a whole. Notable examples of this type of Danish farm were the farms already described in the Poplar

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neighborhood, including the purebred hog operation of the Clover Leaf Stock Farm, as well as a farm known as the Big Rock Stock Farm also in Jackson Township in Shelby County.

The Big Rock Stock Farm was established by Chris Poldberg in the late 1880s. Poldberg, whose original surname was Andersen, was born in Denmark in 1862 and immigrated to Elk Horn in 1885. For the first three years he worked as a farm hand as so many of his fellow immigrants did upon arrival. In 1888 he married Mary Hoogensen Smith, a widow with a farm in Jackson Township, and took over the operations of that farm. He was a successful farmer and by 1915 had established a farm of 280 acres on which he carried on "a general system of farming, giving due attention to the raising of livestock, in which he [was] very successful" (White 1915:662). He specialized in the breeding of Shorthorn Cattle (Ogle and Company 1911). Poldberg also served as a township trustee, school director, and was a member of the Danish Lutheran church at Bowman's Grove, for which he served as president (White 1915:662). In 1907 he hired Danish carpenter Carl V. Andersen to design and construct a new larger house on his farmstead. Added improvements between 1912 and 1923 included a barn, a cattle shed, a hog house, a machine shed, a cob house, and a poultry house. The farm remains in the Poldberg family to the present day, although it is now a rental property. The house built by Carl V. Andersen and all of the outbuildings except for the cattle shed are still standing and among the best preserved in the Danish settlement area.

Another Danish immigrant farming operation of note was that of Andrew P. Hansen in Oakfield Township in Audubon County. This farm was first established in 1878 by his father, Danish immigrant Jens P. Hansen, who had emigrated from Fyn, Denmark, with his family and settling in Avoca in 1874. Jens worked as a section hand for the railroad for four years until he had earned enough to purchase 40 acres from the Rock Island Railroad in Section 4 of Oakfield Township in Audubon County. He later increased these holdings to 120 acres. Andrew helped his father herd cattle on the prairie until his father's health began to fail. In 1890, when Andrew was 21 years of age, his father turned the farm over to him. Andrew subsequently enlarged the farm holdings to 280 acres and by 1915 had put an estimated \$10,000 worth of improvements into the farmstead including what were then described as "modern barns" and a home which was "strictly modern" having electric lights, hardwood floors, and "all other conveniences" (Andrews 1915:658-660). Andrew's farm operation was primarily a dairy operation. When he first took over the farm in the early 1890s, he did raise some hogs and even built a two story hog house; however, his conversion to the Seventh Day Adventist faith, which prohibited the eating of pork, led him to the conclusion that if he could not eat pork, then he should not be raising it. From that time on, his farm operation was comprised of dairy cattle, poultry, and some beef cattle. He and his sons raised dual-purpose Milking Shorthorns, many of which were purebred, and they always had a purebred bull for breeding. The milk was processed at the nearby West Hamlin Creamery, a Danish immigrant cooperative enterprise which was later moved into Elk Horn.

The Andrew P. Hansen farm is situated in what was historically the Indian Creek settlement of Danish Adventists. The Adventist Church is located one mile to the northeast of this farmstead, and in the 1880s-1890s the surrounding sections were settled by converts of this faith and members of its congregation. Of these historic Adventist farmsteads, only the Hansen farm still retains a high

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percentage of its historic buildings including the house built in 1901, the dairy barn built in 1894, the hog house built in 1895 and later used for poultry and calves, the cattle barn built in 1903, and the corn crib built c. 1912-1913. Andrew was a community influential who served as an elder in the Adventist Church, on the Board of Director's of the Exira bank, and was involved with the creamery, telephone company, and light plant in Elk Horn (Hanson, personal communication 1991).

One final aspect of the Danish immigrants' influence on the agricultural development of Shelby and Audubon counties, was the establishment of cooperative creameries, an idea which had its formation in Denmark in the 1880s. In 1890 a meeting was held at the Martin N. Esbeck Hardware and Implement Store in Kimballton for the purpose of organizing a creamery cooperative. Creameries were established at Kimballton and Elk Horn that same year by Peter Hansen and Henry Henricksen, two buttermakers who had spent the winter of 1889-1890 studying at the Elk Horn Folk School. Henricksen managed the creamery at Kimballton known as the Crystal Springs Creamery, and during the first year of operation, \$80,000 worth of milk was processed. Henricksen died within a few years, and another Danish immigrant buttermaker took over the management. As the creamery prospered, there was a need for larger buildings. In 1903 the original frame building was replaced by a brick building, and this in turn was replaced in 1933 with a tile block building constructed of materials from a neighboring brickyard by then known the Roxy brick and tile works. By 1922 Marius and Peter Nielsen operated the creamery. In 1890 Peter Hansen managed the creamery at Elk Horn and "remained in this settlement for a number of years and helped organize other cooperatives" (History Book Committee 1983:II-13). Eventually there would be a number of small creameries in the Shelby/Audubon area including those at Hamlin, Buck Valley, Sharon, Audubon, Exira, Danway, Prairie Rose, Sharon Township, Fairview Township, Oakfield Township, Center Township, Clay Township, and one near Brayton. The second creamery in Clay Township, aside from the Elk Horn Creamery, was known as the Clay Township Creamery and was established in 1900 in Section 15 (Anonymous 1900; History Book Committee 1983:II-13; Anonymous n.d.b).

The Danish creameries operated on the sale of shares to farmers, some of whom paid in cash and others on credit to be paid off by milk deliveries. When the Crystal Springs Creamery was established at Kimballton, fifty shares were sold at \$12.00 each. In 1917, 456 shares at \$20.00 apiece were sold to 135 shareholders, and when the creamery was sold in 1965, there were 359 shares. Up until 1924, the business meetings of this creamery were conducted in the Danish language. Most of the smaller creameries had gone out of business by the 1960s, with the only one surviving in the Shelby/Audubon area being that at Kimballton. Others in the region which remained in operation until recently were those at Avoca, Corning, and Logan (History Book Committee 1983:II9-10).

One final note of interest concerning the Danish influence upon the region's agriculture was the first flour mill built at Kimballton shortly after the first store was opened. This mill was built by Jorgen Miller, a Danish immigrant carpenter and miller, and was patterned after the design of the traditional Danish windmill. It had a large bladed wheel mounted on the roof of the mill building, and stood as a landmark on the hill overlooking Kimballton until it was finally torn down in the 1910s (Figure E14) (Landmands National Bank 1922:9-

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10). From available data it appears that this flour mill was unique in the Danish settlement area.

Typology

The manifestation of the Danish immigrant farming industry in the two county area is found in the region's historic farmsteads and cooperative creameries.

Creameries. The ethnic survey recorded only one creamery building, that of the Crystals Spring Creamery at Kimballton; however, this building is the third generation creamery building on this site and was built in 1933 after the 1865-1924 period of significance. Only one other creamery building is extant, that of the Center Township creamery; however, this building has been moved from its original location, converted into a barn, and is in an advanced stage of deterioration. For these reasons, it was not recorded by the ethnic survey, nor is it eligible for the National Register. The best typological information available concerning the Danish cooperative creamery buildings is in the available historic photographs. In general, the typical creamery operation consisted of a one story frame building for milk processing and buttermaking, an ice house, and the buttermaker's residence in close proximity. The creameries were also sited near a reliable water source, preferably a spring. It appears from comparative data that at the state level, rural creameries in Iowa are generally of masonry construction, thus suggesting that the frame creameries of the two county area are a potential regional oddity. Such frame buildings would be a fragile resource, and integrity considerations could be adjusted to accommodate buildings with marginal integrity as potentially eligible properties because of the rarity of their survival.

Unfortunately, while the cooperative creamery was a significant component in the influence of Danish immigrants upon the region's agriculture, none of the known historic buildings remain either intact or retain sufficient integrity to be eligible for nomination to the National Register. There is some potential for significant archaeological sites of the former creamery operations, including that of the Buck Valley Creamery near Poplar and the West Hamlin Creamery in the Danish Adventist settlement of Sharon and Oakfield townships, although it was beyond the scope of the current project to intensively survey and assess these locations. The archaeological remains of the Buck Valley Creamery were recorded by the ethnic survey and designated as site 13SH9. The site of the first and second generation creameries at the Crystal Springs Creamery have been greatly impacted if not destroyed by the third generation creamery building built in 1933 and enlarged in subsequent years. The archaeological remains of the buttermaker's residence for the Crystal Springs Creamery were recorded by the ethnic survey and designated as site 13AB9; however, initial examination of these remains indicate a residence constructed in the 1910s-1920s, if not later. It remains for future investigations to evaluate the potential significance of this site.

Danish immigrant cooperative creameries are significant at the local level because they represent an important contribution to the region's agricultural development, the idea for which the immigrants brought with them from Denmark. The importance of these creameries is evident from the number which were established in the two county area as well as from the survival and flourishing of the Crystal Springs Creamery well into the mid-twentieth century.

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Farmsteads. Farming in the Danish settlement area of Shelby and Audubon counties was predominated by livestock production, specifically cattle, hogs, and some sheep, supplemented with poultry and crop raising. Of the latter, the largest portion went to the sustenance of the livestock. This is a pattern of agriculture that the Danish immigrants were already familiar with in their homeland. As a result, they were able to adapt relatively easily to the environment of the Iowa prairies and were generally able to establish successful farms within ten years of their immigration. Dairy production was also of importance in the region, with the concept of cooperative creameries brought with the immigrants from Denmark and working well in the two county area. While most Danish immigrant farmers had milk cows for home use and, to some extent, for market use, there were some farmers such as Andrew P. Hansen who specialized in dairy production. He usually milked between 15-18 cows and had a large barn that could stanchion up to 18 at one time.

The ethnic survey recorded a total of 46 Danish immigrant farmsteads that were established during the 1865-1924 period of significance, with the majority having been established in the 1880s-1890s. The historic barns and houses on these farmsteads were recorded at the reconnaissance level and where possible at the intensive level. Time did not permit extensive recording of outbuildings other than of their presence and function, if the latter was readily identifiable. Therefore, specific typologies can be constructed of residential and barn types, but not of other outbuildings. The specific residential and barn typologies will be discussed later in this document under the section concerning Danish building trends. It is felt that for purposes of this document, and to aid in the future nomination of agricultural properties in the Danish settlement area, there is a need for the farmstead to be considered as a property type. The reasons for this include the fact that historically the basic functioning unit of Danish immigrant agriculture was the individual farmstead and further that in the Danish settlement area of Shelby and Audubon counties the individual farmsteads have retained a relatively high degree of integrity, particularly in comparison to those of the German settlement area. While some of the Danish immigrant agricultural resources survive only as isolated buildings, thereby necessitating individual house and barn types, others survive in cohesive farmstead units and as such are important representations of the Danish immigrant experience.

Tobias Faber has noted that people in Denmark had learned to merge their rural buildings with nature. Specifically, "in choosing their site, builders have sought protection from the wind, so that buildings are, if possible, placed in the shelter of hillsides or woods and not on hilltops" (Faber n.d.:6). It was noted in the survey of the Poplar Rural District, that of the 10 Danish immigrant farmsteads recorded, eight were sited on hillslopes while only two were sited on hilltops, and of the latter, one was historically sited so that it was sheltered by a grove.

Therefore, at the present level of knowledge concerning the farmsteads of the Danish settlement area of Shelby and Audubon counties, farmsteads are being delineated into two basic types based upon the potential significance of their siting: Hillslope Farmsteads and Hilltop Farmsteads. It is likely that future, more intensive investigations will refine this typology to reflect the historic functions and configurations of each farmstead, such as dairy farms or stock farms, in addition to their siting. However, time did not permit extensive

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research into the historical functions of each farmstead by the present survey. Therefore, while this typology is simplistic, it does provide the first important delineation of Danish immigrant farmsteads in the region as well as providing a framework in which farmsteads can be effectively categorized for further investigation.

In general, the results of the ethnic survey of Danish immigrant farmsteads indicated that, from the present level of knowledge concerning these farmsteads, the basic difference is in their siting. The majority of the recorded farmsteads consisted of a house of which the formal facade faced the road, with the barns and other outbuildings situated either to the side or rear of the house. The commonly used entrance to the house was situated either at the side or rear of the house and accessed by a lane into the farmstead. A well-defined yard space encompassed the house and was often delineated by a fenced enclosure, shrubbery, or trees. Within the yard area, the following residential support structures were often found: cave or root cellar, privy, wash house, summer kitchen, ice house, cob or wood shed, dry house or smokehouse, wells, and cisterns. Generally, these were situated in the back yard area in varying distances from the house. Archaeological remains of the first residence are often situated within the house yard in close proximity to the second or third generation house.

The barnyard portion of the farmstead contained the barn and some or all of the following agricultural support buildings and structures: corn crib, granary, silos, and hay barracks for crop storage; milk house, chicken coops, sheep folds, cattle sheds, farrowing houses, pig pens, and hog houses for livestock protection, feeding, and products processing; and garages, machine sheds, and wagon sheds for the protection of farm vehicles, machinery, and implements. Outbuildings are grouped according to areas of specialized activities. The early silos are of particular note in the Danish settlement area because many were constructed either with clay tile blocks manufactured at the brickyard in Kimballton or from concrete blocks manufactured at the factories in Kimballton and Elk Horn. In rare instances, there were outbuildings for specialized farm operations such as the hog show ring located on the Chris A. Rasmussen farmstead in the Poplar Rural District.

Danish immigrant farmsteads were further defined by fences and hedgerows to separate livestock from crops and the barnyard from the house yard. Fences were either of wood, metal wire, or concrete posts. The latter were common to the Danish settlement area, where the local factories produced distinctive fenceposts that appeared to have had a relatively wide usage. Another innovation in the Danish settlement area was the so-called "Easy Lift Gate" invented by the Poplar tinsmith. This farm gate lifted upward instead of swinging open and allowed for swift opening and closing even in deep snow (Book Committee 1985:9-11). There is some indication that Osage Orange trees were used by some as hedgerow material in the Danish settlement area. The farmsteads were also protected by windbreaks on one to three sides, most commonly consisting of varieties of pine trees.

Danish immigrant farmsteads are significant because they represent the primary pattern of early Danish settlement in the two county area. Furthermore, the recent study by Yette Mackintosh (1990) has indicated that Danish ethnic

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agricultural traditions persisted in this area for at least 50 years after initial settlement, a phenomenon not seen with other ethnic groups in this region. The majority of immigrants settled in this region because of its agricultural potential, and the Danish immigrants were no exception. Of the various components which comprise a farmstead, the house and barns are the most significant with other outbuildings adding to the overall significance by providing evidence of the multiplying of functions which occurred on the farm as well as the type of farming operations which were conducted. Outbuildings, like houses and barns, can also evidence the skills and workmanship of the immigrant craftsmen in addition to the use of locally available materials. As a cohesive functioning unit, the farmstead can provide information concerning Danish immigrant settlement patterns, ethnic influence upon agricultural development, and ethnic influences in farm building traditions and spatial patterning. Therefore, well preserved Danish immigrant farmsteads are significant at the local level. In a comparative hierarchy, isolated agricultural buildings would have the least significance, with those surviving in farmstead units at the next higher level of significance, and those surviving in rural districts, such as those in the Poplar community, at the highest level of significance. Isolated buildings and individual farmsteads would only be significant at the local level, while the rural district is potentially significant at the local, state, and national levels.

Extant Examples. The following are the known extant Danish immigrant farmsteads and creameries in the two county area that were settled or established during the 1865-1924 period of significance. The farmsteads include only those of note that were recorded by the ethnic survey and represent only a few of the potential, extant Danish immigrant farmsteads in the region.

Center Township Creamery, Center Township (moved and converted into a barn)

Chris Poldberg Farmstead, Section 27, Jackson Township, Shelby County

Erik Simonsen Farmstead, south edge of Kimballton, Audubon County

A. P. Hansen Farmstead, Section 4, Oakfield Township, Audubon County

Nicholas Ohms Farmstead, Section 30, Jackson Township, Shelby County

Non-Extant Examples. The following are the known non-extant Danish immigrant creameries in the two county area.

Crystal Springs Creamery, 1890 (frame) and 1903 (brick), Kimballton
(see History Book Committee 1983:III-28)

Crystal Springs Creamery Buttermaker's Residence, Kimballton (now designated as archaeological site 13AB9)

Buck Valley Creamery, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1894 (now designated as archaeological site 13SH9)

West Hamlin Creamery, Elk Horn, early 1900s (moved and converted into a storage building)

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Sharon Creamery, Sharon, early 1890s (see History Book Committee 1983:II13-15)

Prairie Rose Creamery, Monroe Township, 1895 (see Shelby County Historical Society 1976:202)

h. Construction Trades and Industries

Around 1860 in Denmark the monopolies, which the traditional guild laws had allowed to be formed by skilled craftsmen in the towns, were broken. By the end of the century, "many skilled craftsmen were squeezed between the growing industry and the developing trade causing a number of them to emigrate" (Mackintosh 1988:67). This coupled with the lure of potentially higher wages in America induced a number of young men trained as masons, carpenters, and painters to immigrate to the United States. Fortunately, at the time that they were immigrating, there was a also tremendous need for skilled builders in the newly settled regions of Iowa. Part of the reason for this need was that by the late nineteenth century many of the original pioneer settlers were established to the point that they could afford to replace their houses and outbuildings with larger and more substantial ones. Towns were also booming during this period largely due to the expansion of the railroads into western Iowa, and new commercial buildings were being constructed at a tremendous rate in the 1890s-1910s. In addition, the railroad itself was in need of skilled laborers, and some of the young Danish immigrants to the Shelby/Audubon area initially came to work on the railroad (Ibid.:50-51, 59).

Having been previously trained in a craft or trade in Denmark was played to advantage by a number of young immigrants. The occupations of buttermaker, carpenter, mason, and blacksmith were common "stepping stones for the thrifty Danish" in the new country (Shelby County Historical Society 1976:396-397). These young immigrants were predominantly unmarried, and many lived in hotels and boarding houses until they could establish homes for themselves. The Kimballton Hotel built in 1909 was one such gathering place for newly immigrated craftsmen, and during the early 1900s numerous laborers, masons, and carpenters occupied this hotel (History Book Committee 1983). In the Shelby/Audubon county area, there is both documentary and structural evidence that these skilled immigrant craftsmen passed on their training and skills to "apprentices" who were born in the area and many of whom had Danish parents.

Cement Works

The Danish immigrants also brought with them a talent for working in clay and cement. The natural resources of the Shelby/Audubon area included deposits of fire clay, sand, and gravel which facilitated the development of these industries. One of these areas was near the town of Kimballton, with the cement industry developed by Thorvald G. Jensen and George Henningsen. In his youth, Jensen had learned the carpentry trade from his brother, Anders, and his father, Jens Jensen, who apprenticed as a cabinetmaker in Denmark. Thorvald, who had been born in 1874 in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, came with his family to the Kimballton/Elk Horn area when he was a young boy. In the 1890s-early 1900s he and Anders, who was Danish-born, built a number of homes and barns in the Kimballton area. Around 1906, Jensen, in partnership with his friend George

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Henningsen, a mason by trade, formed a construction company specializing in cement manufacturing and contracting and based in Kimballton. The company was first named The Kimballton-Elk Horn Construction Company. Shortly thereafter, the company's headquarters were moved to Atlantic and that branch became primarily involved in bridgework. Jensen and Henningsen also built cement products plants in Elk Horn and Brayton. The plants in Shelby and Audubon counties manufactured cement blocks, well tile, grave frames, fenceposts, balustrades, and porch support posts. The partnership was terminated in 1912, and Jensen established his own company known as Jensen Construction Company and based in Kimballton. All four of his sons, Evald, Bernhard, Erling, and Gerald, joined the company, and it flourished under the family's guidance. The company is now based in Des Moines but it is still owned and operated by relatives of Thorvald Jensen. Interestingly, the Atlantic company founded by Henningsen also continues to operate under his name to the present day (Anonymous 1916; History Book Committee 1983:I-8, 60-62).

The products from the Kimballton company are evident in the construction of a number of the homes, commercial buildings, and cemeteries of the Elk Horn/Kimballton/Brayton area. The artistic skills of the Danish craftsmen was also evidenced in the variety and styles of cement products made by this company. Blocks were made in rusticated and smooth/tooled varieties, both imitations of cut stone. Support posts were rusticated or fluted to imitate classical columns, and even foundation blocks were often interspersed with a variety which exhibited molded floral patterns, each face having a different flower represented. The latter type of blocks were often used for cornerstones and to support the porches of homes in the area. It is this artistic elaboration and attention to detail that appears to be uniquely Danish in its manifestation in the region (History Book Committee 1983:I-8, 60-62; Anonymous 1916).

In addition to his tremendous influence on the industrial development of the Kimballton/Elk Horn area, Thorvald Jensen was civic minded as well. He was the mayor of Kimballton, president of the Kimballton Welfare Club, secretary of the Immanuel Lutheran Church, president of the local branch of Dansk Folkesamfund, and served one term in the Iowa House of Representatives. He also felt that the people of Kimballton needed a place for family recreation and in 1925 he established Jensen Park on the grounds of the cement products factory featuring a bandstand, pavilion, and a cement-lined swimming pool with a sand bottom that was unique in the area. This park was the focus of summer activities including band concerts, folk dancing, speeches, and picnics for a number of years until the 1940s when several drownings and changing health standards made the pool obsolete. It was subsequently filled in with earth. In the 1940s, the park and the company plant in Kimballton were turned into a livestock sale barn operation and the cement company office became a residence (History Book Committee 1983:I22-23; Landmands National Bank 1922:15).

Brick and Tile Works

As noted previously, the first brickyard in Shelby County was established in Harlan in 1880 by Danish immigrant, J. P. Sorensen. A number of the early homes and businesses of the county seat were constructed with this brick. Brickyards were also well established in the town of Audubon by the early 1900s, and it is known that Danish immigrants Chris Larsen, Hans Nissen, and Frode Koch were involved in various capacities with these enterprises. But it was another

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brickyard in Audubon County, that was founded and operated by Danish immigrants, which was to have a tremendous influence upon the development of the brick industry of the region. This brickyard was located at the south edge of Kimballton (Hansen, Lohner, and Company 1903; White 1915:372).

In 1875 Ole H. Jacobsen and his family settled on land in Sharon Township south of what would later be the town of Kimballton. The family had emigrated from Slesvig in 1869 and located first in rural Shelby County before moving to Sharon Township in Audubon County. Ole H., Sr., had been born in 1834 on the island of Aero. In the early 1900s, a geological survey of the Jacobsen property, by then owned by Ole H., Jr., discovered deposits of fire clay suitable for the production of brick and tile. In 1908 Hans M. Koch emigrated (for the second time) from Slesvig to the United States (Naturalization, Declaration of Intention, Clerk of Court, Audubon). He was a brickmaker, having learned the trade in Denmark. He had also managed brickyards in Denmark and in Michigan prior to his coming to Kimballton. Once he arrived in Kimballton he joined with Ole H. Jacobsen, Jr., to build the kiln and buildings of the Crystal Springs Clay Products Company, later known as the Crystal Springs Brick and Tile Works, which was in production by 1909. Ole H., Jr., eventually went on to distinguish himself as a farmer, manufacturer, and as a Representative of the Iowa General Assembly (Andrews 1915:784-786; Betsinger 1970:48).

The brickyard was originally organized as a stock company, with Koch as manager. He lived in a house that he constructed in 1908 at the east edge of the yard and made from culled bricks. For decades, this company supplied much of the brick used in the construction of the area's commercial buildings, house foundations, and chimneys. It followed "the Old World tradition of giving young men the opportunity to become apprentices and made it possible for high school boys and college students to be employed during the summer months" (Andersen 1989). Through the years, approximately 50 men and boys learned their trade at this brickyard. The "Danish penchant for brick construction reminiscent of the homeland, coupled with the talents of Danish masons, such as Niels Bennedsen, produced a great demand for Crystal Springs products" (Danish Immigrant Museum n.d.). Bennedsen lived in a home on the ridgetop overlooking the brickyard, having built this home with Crystal Springs brick.

During World War I, production at the brickyard was cut, and for the first time the factory employed women to meet labor shortages. Because of changes in building material preferences and farming practices, there became a greater demand for clay tile blocks and drain pipes, and the brickyard's production shifted to meet this need. Koch continued to manage the factory until his death in 1934 when his son, Frode, took over management. Frode Koch soon took over sole ownership and changed the company's name to the Roxy Clay Works. This yard not only supplied tile blocks for the construction of buildings but also structures such as grain silos. Furthermore, they not only supplied the materials but they also constructed these buildings and structures. In fact, Frode Koch was killed in 1937 during the construction of a silo. He was succeeded in the company by his brother, Holger. In 1947, Niels Overgaard, who had worked for the brickyard for a number of years, bought the company and operated it until 1956 when it could no longer compete with larger brickmakers and rising employment costs. The clay pits were also giving out by that time. Overgaard had been born in Dyngby, Boulstrup, Denmark and had been encouraged to immigrate and settle in the Kimballton area by his uncle, T. G. Muller, who was

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influential in getting a number of Danish immigrants to settle this area. Overgaard's widow, Nadjeschda, still resides in the brickyard residence, but the brickyard itself was dismantled and bulldozed in the 1980s becoming nothing more than an archaeological site designated by the ethnic survey as 13AB8. At its peak, the brickyard employed fifteen men and operated around the clock. Photographs and insurance maps indicate that it had at least two beehive kilns and four drying sheds. Overgaard utilized a clay pit to the west of the yard and eventually put in rail tracks to carry the clay excavated with spades to the brickyard (Andersen 1989; Danish Immigrant Museum n.d.; History Book Committee 1983).

Lumberyards

As with the cement and brick industries of the area, the Danes were also influential in the establishment and operation of lumberyards in a number of communities, both Danish and Danish-influenced. Many were operated by carpenters who had been trained in Denmark and found a demand for their experience and services in the booming communities of Shelby and Audubon counties, not only to construct the buildings, but to provide the materials as well. The early lumberyard in Kimballton was privately owned, while that in Elk Horn was owned by a farmers' stock company. These two businesses later merged and opened an additional lumberyard in Hamlin. As with many lumberyards in the area, these three yards were eventually sold to the Green Bay Lumber Company. By that time, the building boom had peaked, and the smaller, privately owned companies could no longer compete (Shelby County Historical Society 1976).

Jens Andersen was the manager of the Kimballton Lumber Yards from 1902 to 1909 when he went into the furniture business. Thomas Christensen then took over as manager into the 1910s. The Green Bay Lumber Company had established a lumberyard in Kimballton in 1908, with Hans P. Boldt as manager. He remained as manager after the company bought out the Kimballton Lumber Yards in the 1920s and retired in 1938. Boldt had earlier established a lumber business in the Danish community of Jacksonville where he also worked as a carpenter and employed a carpenter crew. He sold that yard to the Green Bay Lumber Company in 1902 remaining on as manager until 1908 when he went to manage the yard in Kimballton. As manager of the Kimballton Green Bay Lumber Company, he only gave advice on construction ideas, whereas others, such as Niels Nielsen, manager of the Elk Horn lumberyard and Valdemar Rasmussen, who operated the lumberyard at Poplar in the 1890s, also designed and constructed buildings in the area. Rasmussen most notably built the large two story hall in Poplar (Book Committee 1985:141; Landmands National Bank 1922:15, 18-19; Shelby County Historical Society 1976:130).

Carpentry

Of all the Danish immigrants involved in the building trades and industries, perhaps those with the greatest influence on the architecture of the area were the carpenters, many of whom had received their training in Denmark. They had been trained not only how to build but to draw up design plans as well. They were highly skilled, and the work they did was custom made (Betsinger 1970:53-54). These immigrant carpenters not only brought Danish building traditions to America but they also brought their skills in the arts and in design and applied

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them to vernacular and American building traditions and styles. The following discussion concerns some of the known influential Danish carpenters of Shelby and Audubon counties. This listing is by no means to be considered exhaustive.

Jens Uriah Hansen. The first Dane to settle in Audubon County, Jens Uriah Hansen, was also a carpenter and journeyman miller. He had been born in Lourup, Slesvig, Denmark, in 1844 and migrated to Audubon County in 1869, having previously worked in Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Minnesota. He had left Slesvig in 1864 at the age of 22 when the Danish-Prussian war was being fought. He migrated first to the island of Fano before immigrating to America in 1866. He was encouraged to settle in the Shelby/Audubon county area by Christian Jensen, the Danish Adventist who first settled Clay Township. Hansen was also a convert to this faith. Upon his settlement in Exira Township, Hansen worked as a carpenter and built many houses and barns in that area. He also built the Congregational Church in Exira along with John W. Dodge. He eventually established and built farmhomes in Sharon Township and Oakfield Township where he worked primarily in farming, although "he was always busy carpentering along with his farm work" (Wood 1967). His son, Lawrence William Hansen, also became a carpenter and built homes in Exira, Atlantic, and Stuart. Aside from his influence on the early architecture of the Exira area, Hansen is also noted for having documented his life's work and experience in a diary that remains in his descendants' possession (Andrews 1915:192; Betsinger 1970:192; History Book Committee 1983; Wood 1967).

Hansen's last home, which he built c. 1898, was located on a farmstead in Section 4 of Oakfield Township in Audubon County. This house is no longer extant, but photographs taken in 1969 show a one story gabled frame house with decorative shingle siding in the gable peaks, distinctive angular decorative sunbursts below, and denticulated lintel boards over the windows. Hansen later sold the property to his neighbor, Andrew P. Hansen, with the provision that he could remain in this house for the rest of his life. It was here that J. U. Hansen died c. 1925 (Betsinger 1970:192; Hanson, personal communication 1991).

Three other houses known to have been built by J. U. Hansen are still extant but in varying states of preservation. These include the John W. Dodge house in Section 34 of Hamlin Township, the John D. Bush house at 219 N. Kilworth in Exira, and the Jens Larsen house in Section 31 of Hamlin Township. The latter was built entirely by Hansen, with no help whatsoever and taking a year in the process. This large home is now vacant and derelict but was once a grand home in the area. It is two stories in height, square in shape, and has an open wrap-around porch supported by elaborate wood columns with Corinthian capitals. A centrally-placed dormer is present on the front roof slope. The house appears to have been built in the late 1890s-early 1900s. The Dodge house was built c. 1872 by Hansen, likely with the help of Dodge himself who was also a carpenter in addition to being a farmer. That house is still extant, but has undergone modification through the years. It is a two story, gabled frame house with a T-shaped plan. The distinctive features of this home once included round Classical columns on the open front porch and paired windows with peaked hood molds. Otherwise, the exterior elaboration of the house was very plain.

Of the known houses built by J. U. Hansen, the Bush House in Exira is the best preserved. This house was built c. 1873 for John D. Bush, a prominent early merchant and farmer in Exira. The house is a two story, gabled, L-shaped frame

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house. Like the Dodge House, the exterior elaboration is very plain consisting primarily of a distinctive two story open porch with chamfered posts and a latticework rail on the second floor. While the latter may be a replacement of the original, it appears to be of the same design as the original according to an 1875 drawing of the house (Andreas 1875). The house has been well preserved through the years despite its having been used as a boarding house for five families during the 1930s. Remarkably, the house retains its original 6/6 double-hung windows, wall cladding, window surrounds, and front porch, with very few additions or modifications.

Rasmus Hansen. Another notable early Danish carpenter in the area was Rasmus Hansen whose best known work is the Erik Simonsen house at the south edge of Kimballton. Hansen immigrated from the island of Moen in Denmark settling first in Illinois before coming to Elk Horn in 1875. He was a "hjulmager" (wheelwright) and carpenter by trade. Like J. U. Hansen, who was no relation, Rasmus Hansen had been encouraged to settle in the Elk Horn area by Christian Jensen, although he was not of the Adventist faith. Hansen built many houses in the Elk Horn/Kimballton area and served as president of the lumber business in Elk Horn. He was also the first president of the Danish Mutual Fire Insurance Association and a prominent citizen of the Elk Horn community (Betsinger 1970:56-57).

Hansen built the Simonsen house c. 1879 shortly after Simonsen had settled on this property. The house is defined by Thomas Carter (1987:3) as a central-passage house type consisting of a central passage between two roughly square rooms. Overall, the house is a single room deep, rectangular in ground plan, and 1.5 stories in height. This house has a low, horizontal feel to its configuration. The front facade has symmetrical fenestration consisting of a central door flanked by two sets of single 4/4 double-hung windows which have simple, peaked lintel boards. The distinctive feature of the facade is the centrally-placed gabled wall dormer over the front entry. The rear of the house has been added onto in two stages. The interior of the original portion of the house has had a wall removed on the north side effectively opening up the central passage. Originally, the two rooms on the first floor served as the kitchen-dining room and parlor, with two bedrooms upstairs. Later the first floor rooms became the living room and another bedroom. Distinctive features of the interior include the enameled wood graining on the front door and wainscoting and the wooden peg construction of the window sashes. Early additions to the house included a water room off the rear entry and a summer kitchen with an open veranda on the east side of the water room. The veranda was later enclosed c. 1904, and the room remodeled into a kitchen for year-round use. Around that same time another summer kitchen was built away from the house itself. Also, the water room became a "pulterkammer," or general storeroom where shoes and clothes were stored. In the late 1960s a family room and bathroom were added to the north side of the rear addition and a garage was attached to the southeast corner of that same addition. None of the additions has marred the front facade of the house which looks almost exactly as it did when it was built, nor has the original core of the house been greatly modified (Betsinger 1970:92-100).

Soren Mortensen. An additional early carpenter of note was Soren Mortensen who emigrated from Jutland, Denmark, in 1879 having been trained as a "drejemand" (latheworker) and carpenter. He lived first in Council Bluffs

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before he inherited land from his brother-in-law, Chris Nelsen, in the Kimballton area. Mortensen built many houses and barns in this area, most notably the Chris Petersen house in Jackson township. He built this house in 1882 with the assistance of Ole Terkelsen who later went into the well drilling business in Poplar. Mortensen also built the barn on this farm, having built it first followed by the house. The Petersen family lived in the feedway of the barn until the house was finished. One interesting feature of this house is the low height of the upstairs ceilings. It is said that Mortensen was of short stature and that low ceilings were one of his building traits. Other traits included fancy turned woodwork on the porches. Such decorative work was favored by many of the Danish carpenters who worked in the area (Betsinger 1970:57-60; Hansen, personal communication 1991; History Book Committee 1983:III100-101).

The Petersen house is still extant and in a good state of preservation. The house is 1.5 stories in height and T-shaped in ground plan. It is defined by the present study as a gabled ell house type, with a centrally-placed triangular gabled wall dormer over the central front entry. That entry is flanked by single double hung windows and covered by a small, screened-in portico porch. The latter is supported by turned spindleposts and exhibits decorative brackets and a spindlefrieze. The interior of the house originally had two front rooms and a rear kitchen, with two bedrooms upstairs. The house has had only a few modifications including a clay tile block basement constructed approximately 50 years ago using tile manufactured at the Roxy Clay Works.

Nels B. Andersen. In the mid- to late 1890s, Danish immigrant Nels B. Andersen worked as a carpenter in the Elk Horn/Kimballton area. Andersen was born in Jutland in 1867. He emigrated with his family in 1870 when he was just three years old. His family immigrated to Avoca, Iowa, before finally settling in Clay Township in Shelby County by 1878. Andersen is first listed in the census data in 1900 when he was then living in Elk Horn and employed as a carpenter and farmer. Local newspaper accounts indicate that he was working in Kimballton in 1895. The 1895 newspaper accounts show that in Kimballton he constructed an addition to Martin N. Esbeck's house, built a "fine house and barn" for Dr. Slamborg, and built Hans Madsen's house (Betsinger 1970:43, 132, 138). Andersen's most notable known contribution to the area's architecture was his own house which he built in 1899 at 2105 Pleasant St. in Elk Horn. He and his family lived in this house until 1901 when they moved to Seattle, Washington. This house is 1.5 stories in height and irregular in ground plan. It is defined as a Victorian Side-Passage house type by Thomas Carter's (1987) study. It has a hipped roof with lower cross-gabled ells.

The distinctive features of the house exterior are the elaborate carved gable screens, turned spindleposts and spindlefrieze, and the octagonal, round roofed half tower with diamond-shaped windows. The front fixed-light cottage window has a tracery header, a scrolled broken pediment lintel board, and a decorative panel below the sill which is carved with a floral design. A rectangular bay window is present on the south side. The front entry is recessed at the right side of the facade and is covered with a small porch with a closed gable roof. The exterior also has distinctive beltcourses of wider boards placed at various intervals on the first and second floors. The only modifications to the exterior have been the addition of a porch at the southeast corner at the rear of the house and a new tile block foundation in 1951. The house style is greatly influenced by the late Victorian Queen Anne architectural

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style, except that it is of a noticeably smaller scale than the common version of this style.

Anders Jensen. Anders Jensen was born on the island of Fyn, Denmark, the fifth child of Jens Jensen and Karen Hansdatter. His father was a cabinetmaker having been apprenticed as a boy. Anders also became a carpenter and later taught his younger brother, Thorvald G., the trade. The Jensen family immigrated to Wisconsin in the 1870s and in 1884 migrated to Audubon County settling near Kimballton. Anders and his brother T. G. pursued the carpentry trade in the Kimballton area and together built a number of houses and barns in this vicinity. Anders eventually retired from carpentry to farm, while Thorvald continued in the construction business joining in partnership with George Henningsen to found the cement factory in Kimballton (History Book Committee 1983:I56-57).

The best known example of Anders' workmanship is the Jens T. Larsen House in Kimballton. This house was built c. 1893-1894 by Anders, and it is likely that he was aided in its construction by his brother. The house is a gabled ell house form, with a T-shaped ground plan. The interior floorplan of the side gabled wing of the house core is that of the hall-parlor variant as defined by Thomas Carter in his 1987 study of the area's architecture and as further discussed in Section I-i of this document. Notable features of the house interior include remnants on a door and some of the window surrounds of painted enameled wood graining and an oddly angled wall and dormer in the second floor hallway. Distinguishing features of the exterior include: centrally-placed triangular gabled wall dormers on the front and side gabled wings; elaborate scrolled gable screens in the gable peaks; punch-and-gouge brackets and chamfered posts on the south and east open porches; denticulated friezes under the eaves of the porch, the one story bay window, and on the round-arched lintel board of the dormer window; and an unusual square dormer on the roof slope at the juncture of the cross wings. This dormer also has sawtooth dentils, small diamond-shaped shingle siding, and a colored glass window. The dormer serves no practical purpose other than allowing some additional light into the hallway; however, its placement necessitated an unusual and likely difficult construction design. The only modifications to the house have been a one story addition on the north side of the kitchen, an enclosed rear porch, the replacement of a portion of the clapboard on the southeast facade with wide board replacement siding, and the modification of two windows. The house retains the majority of its original elements and still conveys a sense of historical time and place.

Chris N. Larsen. Chris N. Larsen was a Danish immigrant carpenter who began working in Brayton in the 1890s. Larsen immigrated in 1891 at the age of 21 and was likely trained as a carpenter in Denmark. He was working as a carpenter in the Brayton area in the early 1890s and was listed in the 1895 census as a single head-of-household (1895 Iowa State Population Census). He lived the remainder of his life in Brayton, eventually retiring from carpentry. He married Signe N., a Danish immigrant, c. 1901 and raised two children (1900 and 1910 U. S. Population Censuses). Chris is remembered as an eccentric who knew how to "pinch a penny." The buildings in Brayton that it is known that he constructed include the first Baptist church (non-extant) built in 1894 and his own home built c. 1893-1894. The latter is the best known extant example of his work, unfortunately, it is deteriorating for lack of a proper foundation and is likely to be torn down in the next few years.

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The house is 1.5 stories in height and T-shaped in ground plan. It has a steeply pitched gable roof with an equally steeply pitched triangular gabled wall dormer on the east facade. Distinctive features of this house include elaborate hand-carved gable screens, spindled brackets, spindlefrieze, decorative shingle siding in the gable peaks, a beltcourse of wainscoting at the water table, and a beltcourse of decorative shingle siding at the first/second floor break on the main core of the house. A shed-roofed rectangular bay window is present on the south side. The only modification to the house has been the enclosure of a recessed entry porch at the northeast corner of the house. According to local residents, Larsen carved the decorative fretwork by hand during the winter months, and it may have taken years before the exterior elaboration was completed.

Hans P. Boldt. Boldt was born in Holbeck, Denmark, on July 9, 1867. He emigrated from Denmark in 1887 when he was 20 years old and "first located at Jacksonville where he followed the carpenter trade" (Anonymous 1939b). While it is not known for certain if he was in the Jackson Township area in 1887, it is known that his uncles Jacob and Rasmus Brodersen had settled in this area c. 1869. It is likely that these relatives encouraged Boldt to settle here. Boldt eventually became manager of the Green Bay Lumber Company in Kimballton, but he first worked in the Jacksonville area as a carpenter where he established a carpentry and lumber business in 1901. It is known that Boldt built a number of homes and other buildings in the Jackson Township area. He is listed in the state gazetteers as a carpenter working out of Jacksonville in the early 1900s but he working as a carpenter in Jackson Township by at least 1895 when he was listed as a boarder in the Hans P. Hansen household. The 1900 census indicated that Boldt was boarding in another Hansen household and working as a carpenter. Another boarder in this household was James F. Barmington also working as a carpenter. At that time Boldt was 32 years old, while Barmington was 19 years of age. It appears likely that Barmington was apprenticed to Boldt. Barmington later became an influential builder in his own right, obviously having benefited from Boldt's tutelage. After moving to Kimballton c. 1908 to manage the Green Bay Lumber Company, Boldt built his own home near the Immanuel Lutheran Church. By the 1920s he was described as an "ex-carpenter," who gave out suggestions on construction in his capacity as manager of the lumberyards (Hansen 1990; Iowa State Gazetteers 1901-02, 1905-06, 1908-11; 1895 Iowa State Population Census; 1900 U. S. Population Census). His obituary noted that:

Mr. Boldt took an active interest in Kimballton's welfare. Whenever the need arose for new business buildings, he invested freely of his money, and several of the newer buildings in town were once his property, solely or in partnership with others (Anonymous 1939b).

Of the buildings constructed by Boldt, the only house known to remain extant from present data, is the house he built for himself on W. 2nd Street in Kimballton. This house, built in 1908, is of a type defined by Thomas Carter (1987) as a gabled double-pile house, being two rooms wide by two rooms deep with a broad gabled roof. A broad, centrally-placed wall dormer pierces the front roofline and is another distinctive feature of this house type in the region. Fenestration is symmetrical, with a central door flanked by fixed-light cottage windows on either side. The dormer has two single 1/1 double-hung windows. A one story bay window is present on the south side. Modifications include the removal of the front portico porch and the addition of awnings over

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the front windows.

The lumberyard/carpentry shop that Boldt established in 1901 in Jacksonville and later sold to the Green Bay Lumber Company is also extant. This building began as a one story, gabled roofed, rectangular carpentry shop to which Boldt added a lumber office/store which is a one story, false front frame building. This addition is rectangular in ground plan and has a shed-roofed open porch on the front supported by plain wooden posts. The facade consists of a central double-wide door with a fixed-light transom and flanked by large fixed-light store windows. Except for having been sided with asphalt sheeting and having portions of the brick foundation shored with concrete blocks, the store and shop have seen few modifications.

Hans P. Boldt was also likely the builder of the barn on the Anders Rasmussen farmstead in the Poplar Rural District. This barn is a transverse-frame, Jacksonville variant, type barn as defined later in this document. This barn was built c. 1887 and may be one of the first buildings that Boldt built in Shelby County.

Carl V. Andersen. In the early 1900s, at the same time that Hans Boldt was working in Jacksonville, there was another Danish carpenter working out of this town whose work left a lasting impression on the area's architecture. This carpenter, Carl Viktor Andersen, was a rather enigmatic figure who also appeared to be rather eccentric. It is believed that he emigrated from Copenhagen, Zealand, although little is known of his early years in Denmark (Betsinger 1970:60-61; Christoffersen, personal communication 1991). He immigrated in 1891 at the age of 20 and may have first worked in Harlan; however, he has not been located in the 1895 census for either Shelby or Audubon counties. He is listed in the 1900 census as a boarder in the John Nissen household in the Poplar neighborhood of Jackson Township. Other carpenters boarding at the Nissen house included Mike Petersen and Viggo Rasmussen, who comprised Andersen's crew at that time. A 1906 news item for Jacksonville noted that Andersen had just completed building a shop and that "it is conveniently arranged and he is now ready to do all kinds of carpenter work" (Anonymous 1906b).

Andersen was nicknamed "Carl Snedker" (Carl Cabinetmaker or Carpenter) and was commonly referred to by that name in the area. He did a "great deal" of building in the area including houses, barns, and other outbuildings and was "a very talented individual; he was an actor and a singer as well as a man who knew his wood trade" (Betsinger 1970:60-61). He was considered by his employees as an "excellent carpenter" and one who "excelled as an employer and teacher" (Betsinger 1970:61).

Andersen, like so many other Danish carpenters, also drew up floor plans and exterior sketches. Some of the unusual characteristics of the houses and buildings he designed and built were oddly angled interior walls, elaborate exterior scrollwork, whimsical two story towers, and a penchant for decorative woodwork designs, particularly sunbursts. His preference for towers may have had its roots in his homeland of Zealand "where towers were common on public buildings and castles" (Betsinger 1970:61). The present study noted that Andersen's innovative designs, while bold and distinctive, were not necessarily always structurally sound. For example, at least two of the towers he constructed have proven to be prone to leaking, and one had to be entirely

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removed in order to solve the problem. Another example is related to the angled interior wall design where he failed to provide adequate support for the room above this wall, and the ceiling joists are sagging as a result. This is not to say that his houses were not well built or that he was inferior as a carpenter, but rather that his innovations sometimes failed the test of time.

Andersen lived in several areas during his stay in Shelby County including Jacksonville, a farm either in northeast Jackson Township or northwest Sharon Township, and finally on the Ridge Road near Kimballton. He was a prolific builder from c. 1900-1911 and his departure from the area was sudden and tragic. In September of 1911, his second wife, distraught over a "domestic dispute," allegedly shot and killed his young son and set fire to their house. She then shot Carl and herself, neither a fatal wound. She was acquitted by reason of insanity, and she and Carl subsequently left the state. Carl may have settled in the Dakotas, but this is uncertain as is the fate of his wife (Christoffersen, personal communication 1991; Petersen, personal communication 1991; Scott, personal communication 1990).

Some of the notable buildings designed and constructed by Andersen include the Martin Henricksen, Chris Poldberg, and Nicholas Ohms houses in Jackson Township, the Jacksonville school, and the ice house (non-extant) for the Crystal Springs Creamery. He also drew up the plans for the opera house (non-extant) in Kimballton (Anonymous 1907). It is further believed that he designed the interior of the A. M. Petersen house and built the Mike Christensen house in Jacksonville, one of the barns on the Ohms farmstead, and a number of the barns and corn cribs in the Poplar neighborhood and in Jackson Township in general. Andersen's carpenter gang usually included two to six men. Among these men were Viggo Rasmussen, Mike Petersen, Theoda Lauritsen, Hans Albertsen, Oscar Hansen, and "Little Hans Snedker," the latter likely being Hans Johnson, all of whom were either Danish immigrants or the sons of Danish immigrants (Christoffersen, personal communication 1991). His carpenter gang was one of at least two based in Jacksonville, which are discussed in more detail below.

The Martin P. Henricksen house was built by Andersen c. 1905. It is defined by the present study as a four-square house type, gabled wall dormer variant with tower. The house exhibits a number of typical Andersen traits including oddly angled walls on both the first and second floor interiors, sunbursts in the gable peaks of the exterior, and an elaborate two story tower. The house is square in shape with four rooms on each of the two floors, although they are not of equal size. The roof is pyramidal hipped with four centrally-placed gabled wall dormers, two of which have decorative woodwork sunbursts in their peaks. The front-facing dormer has a doorway which opens onto the top floor of the front porch. In the late 1930s the porch was reduced from its original size and the original round porch posts were replaced with square posts. Portions of the original balustrade and turned newel posts remain on top of the porch. The replacements were necessitated by deterioration. The porch on the south side was enclosed in 1949.

The house originally sat upon a rusticated concrete block foundation, the north portion of which still remains intact. The remainder of the foundation was replaced by tile blocks in 1949 when a new basement was excavated under the south half of the house. This change in foundation material is not readily

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noticeable as the shrubbery which has grown up around the house effectively hides the foundation from the road and farm lane. The intact portion of the original foundation exhibits corner blocks which have molded floral patterns. These types of blocks have also been observed in Kimballton and Elk Horn and were likely manufactured at the Jensen cement factories in those towns. This industry was established c. 1906, therefore suggesting that the Henricksen house may have been built in that year.

The tower is located on the south half of the front, east-facing facade. It serves as a bay window in the first floor dining room and in the second floor master bedroom. It has a flaring hipped roof with the original finial/weather vane at its apex. Elaborate scroll-sawn brackets are present under the tower eaves and along the house eaves. The tower is three-sided with decorative bands of wainscoting at its base and under the eaves.

The windows are the original double-hung sash windows with storm windows added to the exterior. The front parlor window is a fixed-light cottage window with a stained glass header. The second floor porch door is a replacement, but the first floor front parlor door is original. This door has an etched glass lacework pane and elaborate wood appliques on the exterior face. Another etched glass pane of a stag was once present in the south porch door. This pane still exists but in another house.

The interior of the house retains much of its original woodwork and brass door hardware. The lintel boards exhibit egg-and-dart molding. Some of the woodwork has been enamel grained but much of this was done in the 1940s; however, the second floor closet door does retain its original enameled wood graining. The kitchen originally had wainscoting around its walls, but this was removed when the room was remodeled and modernized.

The interior, as noted above, also exhibits unusual angled walls on both floors as opposed to the A. M. Petersen house which had only one angled wall on the first floor. The angled walls of the Henricksen house are between the front parlor and rear bedroom on the first floor, the northeast bedroom and the hall on the second floor (above the angled wall on the first floor), the southeast bedroom and the hall, and the west portion of the wall of the stairway and the southwest bedroom (Figure E15). None of these angled walls serve any practical purpose other than to manipulate interior room space on the first floor and to enable the insertion of a paired window in the rear gabled wall dormer. The latter is particularly puzzling as none of the other dormers have this particular window fenestration, the rear is not visible from either the road or farm lane, and a single window at this location would have sufficed for lighting purposes.

The Henricksen house is structurally sound, although the tower does leak and will need repairs. As with other Andersen-designed houses, this flaw appears to be characteristic of his designing style and its emphasis on innovation. The design of the Henricksen house is exactly like that of the Nicholas Ohm's house, although the blueprint was reversed for the latter. The tower on that house also leaked and was completely removed to solve the problem. A third house, the Mike Christensen house in Jacksonville, was also of the same basic design, although in that case Andersen added a second front-facing gabled dormer with the tower in-between this dormer and another. The Ohms house has been

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extensively remodeled and retains little of its original integrity, while the Mike Christensen house has been demolished.

Herman Hansen. Another important area carpenter was Herman Hansen who built many houses in Elk Horn in the 1910s and a number of farmhouses in Sharon and Oakfield townships. Hansen immigrated from the island of Fyn, Denmark, having been trained in carpentry at the Faaborg Tegneskole. This training included four years of apprenticeship and four years of drawing blueprints. The houses he built were generally large homes with bay windows but little decorative trim, influenced more by the Prairie and Craftsman schools than by the fanciful Late Victorian stylistic influences seemingly preferred by the Danish carpenters in the 1890s-early 1900s. After World War I when the building industry was in decline, Hansen went into bridge construction and worked for Thorvald Jensen in Kimballton (Betsinger 1970:63-65). The best known example of Hansen's work is the home he built for himself in 1910 in Elk Horn. This house is a Bungalow house type with the typical features of a rectangular ground plan with an emphasis on the horizontal, wide overhanging eaves, exposed rafter tails, and an inset open porch (Betsinger 1970:62).

Jacksonville Carpenter Gangs. From the late 1880s into the 1910s there were groups of carpenters who worked out of Jacksonville under the leadership of Hans P. Boldt, Carl V. Andersen, and James Barmington. Barmington was first an apprentice working with Boldt and later led his own crew possibly after Boldt had sold his Jacksonville lumberyard to the Green Bay Lumber Company or shortly beforehand. Andersen was leading crews at the same time as both Boldt and Barmington until he left to live and work in the Kimballton area late in 1908. Andersen and Barmington both left the state in 1911-1912, but Barmington's legacy was continued by members of his gang until after World War I when the building business began to diminish in the Jacksonville area.

The results of the ethnic survey of buildings constructed by these gangs, indicated that there were two somewhat different construction styles which appear to have had their origins with Boldt and Andersen, with Andersen's style having an emphasis on innovation sometimes at the expense of structural soundness and Boldt's style having an emphasis on structural soundness at the expense of innovation. Boldt passed this emphasis on to his workers, most notably James Barmington, who in turn passed it on to his workers including Ras Scott and J. L. Petersen. Members of Andersen's gang were Mike Petersen, Viggo Rasmussen, Theoda Lauritzen, Hans Johnson, Hans Albertsen, Oscar Hansen, and Morten Nelsen. Others who are known to have worked out of Jacksonville in the 1910s, possibly starting out earlier in Barmington's employ, were Jens M. Christensen, Martin Grann, Jens N. Olesen, and Holger Nissen. Simon Hansen was also working in this area in the 1910s-1920s (Anonymous 1971; Hansen 1990; Scott, personal communication 1990; Shelby County Republican 1907-1908; 1895 Iowa State Population Census; 1900 and 1910 U. S. Population Censuses).

Barmington was the only one of these who was not a Danish immigrant or of Danish descent, although his wife was of Danish descent. He was born in Shelby County and lived with his family on a farm near Jacksonville. In 1900 he and Hans P. Boldt were boarding on the Hans P. Hansen farm and working as carpenters. As noted previously, it appears likely that Boldt was teaching Barmington the carpentry trade. Barmington worked as a carpenter from at least 1900 and led a carpenter gang in Jacksonville from c. 1905 until 1911 when he moved to Nebraska

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and later to Colorado. However, it is suspected that he worked with Boldt in his Jacksonville carpentry business in the early 1900s. After Boldt sold his business to the Green Bay Lumber Company, Barmington established his own carpentry shop in that town (Land Transfers 1905-1911; 1900 U. S. Population Census).

Jens M. Christensen worked with the Jacksonville gang until 1920 when he moved to California. He had been born in Denmark and immigrated to the United States in 1902 when he was 21 years old. It is likely that he learned the carpentry trade in Denmark. He was working with Barmington at least by 1908. A 1917 news item indicated that he was then working as an employer as he had taken on a young Danish immigrant cabinet maker who had just arrived from Denmark (Hansen, personal communication 1991; Land Transfers 1910-1920; Shelby County Republican 1908; 1910 U. S. Population Census).

Rasmus P. Scott (originally Skjoit or Skjodt) was born in Randers, Denmark, in 1889. He learned the carpentry trade in Denmark, apprenticing for four years making furniture and coffins. Like other trained carpenters he was skilled not only in construction but in drawing up design plans. His skills were considerable and the buildings he constructed have stood the test of time. It has been said that when he started a job he would first saw all the lumber taking several days in the process before beginning actual construction. The people he worked for would become concerned when they saw him cutting and cutting and not seeming to accomplish anything. However, when he finally began construction, the building would go up quickly and fit together perfectly. He did extremely precise work. He also liked doing fancy scrollwork for house exteriors and was disappointed when this handwork was later replaced by millwork ordered through catalogs. He also was reluctant to take up power tools, preferring the skill and challenge of handwork. He immigrated to the Jacksonville area c. 1908 and worked on James Barmington's gang often referring to him as a "Yankee," and continued to work with others in the Jacksonville gang including J. L. Petersen and Martin Grann, until 1918 when he married and began farming. However, he never gave up building and continued to work with a cooperative group of farmers who shared in the construction of farm buildings in the Harlan/Jacksonville area well into his old age. Through the years he returned to Denmark on several occasions and encouraged brothers and cousins to immigrate, many of whom took his advice, apparently including Martin Grann who was also from Randers, Denmark (Scott, personal communication 1990).

J. L. Petersen was born in 1882 and was also a carpenter by trade. He was working with the Jacksonville gang by 1910, and it has been noted that he worked for a whole year just repairing damage from the devastating 1913 Easter Sunday tornado (Hansen, personal communication 1991; 1910 U. S. Population Census).

Hans Johnson, who was born to Danish immigrants in the Poplar area in 1878, first worked in the Poplar lumberyard as a young boy. He was later taught carpentry by Carl V. Andersen and worked for him for five years. Andersen commonly referred to him as "Little Hans Snedker." Johnson worked as a carpenter for 40 years and built homes and other buildings in Shelby and Audubon counties (Book Committee 1985; Christoffersen, personal communication 1991; Hansen, personal communication 1991).

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A review of the 1907-1908 Shelby County Republican showed a number of items concerning the activities of Barmington and Andersen's crews as they worked out of Jacksonville. During this two year period, Barmington and his crew constructed at least 14 buildings including four barns, three houses, three hog houses, 1 church, 1 corn crib, 1 small shed, and 1 granary, while Andersen and his crew constructed at least 12 buildings including three houses, two hog houses, one public school, one ice house, one barn, and three jobs of unspecified carpentry work. During this period, Andersen also designed the Kimballton opera house (Shelby County Republican 1907-1908).

There does appear to have been at least one occasion where Barmington and Andersen collaborated on the construction of a house. As noted above, their building styles were somewhat different and this is reflected in the differences between the exterior and interior design of this house. Specifically, this was the house that was built c. 1906 for A. M. Petersen in Section 1 of Jackson Township in the Poplar neighborhood. The house is defined by the present study as four-square house type with a two story porch variation. Andersen's influence is most recognizable on the interior where there is an oddly angled wall between the parlor and a bedroom and a built-in pass-through china cupboard and dumbwaiter (Figure E16). As noted previously, these are traits of Andersen-designed houses, with the angled walls also found in the Martin P. Henricksen and Nicholas Ohms houses, and the pass-through china cupboard also found in the Chris Poldberg house and in the Marcussen house which Andersen remodeled. The influence of James Barmington appears to be strongest on the exterior design. While Andersen was partial to the four-square house type with the centrally-placed dormers on the pyramidal hipped roof, his designs did not include anything similar to the two story front porch found on the Petersen house. Rather, he was partial to small, more classical porches and elaborate towers (Betsinger 1970:159-162).

Like Andersen, Barmington's house designs also utilized elaborate scrollwork and decorative shingle siding but often featured the large, open two story front porches that were almost reminiscent of Southern houses. Two other known examples of this house type variant are extant in the Jacksonville area, including the Richard Stewart house and a house situated north of the school in Jacksonville. The latter has had the two story front porch completely removed, while the former is a scaled-down and much less elaborate version of the Petersen house. Therefore, the A. M. Petersen house is the best preserved example of this house type in the area.

The large, open two story, pent gable roofed front porch on the Petersen house exhibits decorative shingle siding in the gable peak, spindlefriezes, elaborate scroll-sawn pendants, punch-and-gouge brackets, turned spindleposts, and turned balusters on the second floor. Comparison with historic photographs of the house indicate that the shingle siding originally had a painted diamond pattern, now covered with white paint. A one-story hipped roofed porch is present on the south side of the house sheltering the commonly used entrance into the house from the farm lane. This porch also exhibits the same decorative detailing as the front porch. There is an enclosed porch on the north side which has served as a pantry and bedroom closet for a number of years.

The house has two centrally-placed gabled wall dormers on the north and south sides, both of which originally had elaborate scrolled gable screens. Only the

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screen in the north gable peak remains, the other having been removed more than twenty years ago. The house was covered with aluminum siding c. 1976, but the original siding remains intact underneath and the owners took great pains to get aluminum "clapboard" siding as close to the original board width as possible. They also insisted that the soffits retain their original wainscoting cover and that the brackets under the eaves remain in place. The window surrounds did have to be removed and the wainscoting and decorative woodwork detailing on the one story bay window on the south side were covered over. The windows themselves are largely the original double-hung windows, although two of the etched glass headers were removed from the south windows. The north window in the kitchen and the east window in the remodeled bathroom are modifications of the original windows but neither is visible from the road or farm lane. Four of the exterior doors have etched glass panes, three of which depict a European street scene and the other a flower urn. The doors themselves display elaborate decoration on the exterior face.

In general, the house is structurally sound, although the walls of the northwest second floor bedroom are not adequately supported underneath and the floor is noticeably sagging as a result. This points out a basic flaw in the interior design, where in order to enlarge the first floor bedroom space, Andersen utilized a broad angled wall but failed in this design to provide adequate support for a portion of the upstairs wall system. This appears to have been a characteristic trait of Andersen's designs wherein he sacrificed some measure of structural soundness for innovative designs.

One particular type of barn constructed in the Jackson Township area has been attributed to these carpenter gangs, and is designated as the Jacksonville variant of this barn type and named for this association. This is a variant of the Transverse-Frame barn type and will be described in greater detail in the building trends section of this document. In simple terms, this barn type variant is characterized by a common bent system and the decorative detailing of its external components. A number of the barns in the Poplar Rural District are of this type.

Other Carpenters. Additional carpenters of note who worked in the area but about whom little is known at present include, L. C. Johnson, who worked in Kimballton in 1889, and Hans P. Hansen, who worked in Kimballton c. 1905-1910s. It is known that in 1913 Hansen was working in collaboration with brick mason, Niels Bennedsen, and lumberyard manager, Hans P. Boldt, in the construction of a business building in Kimballton. Not only did they construct the building but they also retained ownership of this building as partners for a number of years, leasing the building to tenants (Betsinger 1970:43; Iowa State Gazetteer 1905-1906).

Other Danish carpenters listed in the various business directories and state gazetteers for the Shelby/Audubon area through the years included John Darffler and Jacob Hansen in Elk Horn in 1889, John Andersen and Jorgen Miller in Kimballton c. 1892-93 (Miller was still listed as a carpenter in the 1910 U. S. Population Census), Nels Peterson in Harlan c.1892-1906, H. Hansen in Exira prior to 1903, Perry Hansen in Exira c.1903-06, Nels Hansen, Jr. in Exira c. 1903, Nels Sorensen in Brayton c. 1903, Jacob Andersen, Chris Haderer, E. Johnson, and P. Bransen in Audubon c. 1903, Charles G. Sorenson in Harlan c. 1910-1915, N. P. Nelson in Elk Horn c. 1914-15, and Nels Jensen in Hamlin c.

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1914-1915. The carpenters listed in the 1916 business directory of Elk Horn included the above-noted Herman Hansen in addition to Nels Larsen, Chris Madsen, Jacob Jacobsen, John Skow, Henry Carlsen, Tony Aagaard, Clarence Andersen, and Nels Sondergaard. While there were Danish carpenters working for a number of years in Exira, Audubon, and Harlan who obviously had an effect upon the architecture of the area, these carpenters were also working with a number of carpenters of differing ethnic backgrounds, and at present the influence of one group over another in these towns cannot be differentiated. It remains for future investigations to research the backgrounds of these carpenters and identify the properties that they constructed.

Masonry

Although the work of both carpenters and masons was required to complete a single building, they did not commonly work together and it was not unusual for them to be at odds with one another. Paul Scott can recall that his father, carpenter Ras Scott, always complained that the masons could never make a square foundation (Scott, personal communication 1990). Masons would probably counter with a similar criticism of carpenters. One Danish immigrant mason, about whom one would likely have heard little criticism was Niels Birk Bennedsen. He was among those craftsmen trained in masonry in Denmark who immigrated to the United States in the 1890s-early 1900s.

Bennedsen had been born in Vejle, Jutland, Denmark (Naturalization Declaration of Intention, Clerk of Court, Audubon). His training included cement work, plastering, and bricklaying and included a lengthy apprenticeship. He served in the Danish army c. 1899 and was stationed in Copenhagen. While there he was able to take private drawing lessons from an architect. He immigrated to the United States in 1901 after his discharge, going first to Minneapolis and then to Luck, Wisconsin, where his uncle lived. In the spring of 1902 he traveled to Kimballton with the Reverend J. M. Gregersen who was taking charge of the Immanuel Lutheran Church. Bennedsen's first job in Kimballton was the construction of an outdoor cellar, or cave, on the Christian Madsen farm. From then on he was kept busy in the construction of foundations, chimneys, commercial buildings, houses, silos, and other various masonry and plastering jobs in the Kimballton area. The presence of a concrete block factory by 1906 and a brickyard by 1909 in Kimballton provided him not only with building materials but also with a demand for his talents. Bennedsen built his own house on the hill overlooking the Crystal Springs brickyard in 1915, using brick made at that yard. Originally, the home was two stories in height but was reduced to a single story following a devastating fire. Bennedsen lived in this house until his death in the 1970s (Betsinger 1970:66-68).

In addition to his own house, another building of note that Bennedsen constructed was the brick building in Kimballton which now houses the General Store Museum. In 1910 Bennedsen purchased an empty lot in the commercial district of Kimballton. Three years later he formed a partnership with Hans P. Boldt and Hans P. Hansen, and together they constructed a one story brick and tile building divided internally into two separate stores and having a basement with a rear entry. The building's first tenants were Emil Twenstrup's barber shop and bath and Walter Madsen's tailor shop. The building's facade features a recessed central entry with doors into each store and framed by a round archway

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of brick. The brick and tile blocks were manufactured at the Crystal Springs Clay Works, although the pressed face brick was likely manufactured elsewhere and shipped in by rail. The partners retained ownership of this building until 1946. It is not known if they built any other commercial buildings in partnership, although there is some evidence that Boldt had an interest in a number of the town's buildings. The fact that they did it at all adds an interesting footnote to the nature and configuration of the Danish immigrant construction trades and industries in the two county area (Anonymous 1939b; Kimballton Town Lot Transfers 1910-1913; Anonymous 1913).

Other Danish immigrant masons active in the Shelby/Audubon county area included Kristian Kaltoft who learned the trade from Niels Bennedsen and worked as a mason and plasterer in Kimballton from the 1910s until well into his old age (he died in 1949), Soren P. Jacobsen who worked out of Jacksonville c. 1901-1911, and G. G. Rasmussen and Peter Wiuff who worked in Elk Horn c. 1914-1916, to mention but a few (Anonymous 1916; Iowa State Gazetteers 1901-1911, 1914-1915; History Book Committee 1983:I-71).

Painting

Painters were also in great demand during the building boom of the 1890s-1910s in Shelby and Audubon counties. While some were talented artists capable of executing elaborate interior stenciling and wall murals, others confined themselves to the overall painting of exteriors. Prominent among the latter was Danish immigrant Rudolph Andersen of Kimballton. He had been born in Norresundby, North Jutland, and immigrated to the United States in 1901. He had been trained as a painter under a four-year apprenticeship in Denmark. Upon settling in Kimballton, Andersen and his wife Sophie established a paint and wallpaper business, with Sophie in charge of the selling of wallpaper and Rudolph seeing to the paint end of the business. Their home on Main Street in Kimballton served as both a residence and store and was an eye-catching advertisement for his talents. As with many of the homes in the area during the 1890s-1900s, the exterior was a combination of a variety of colors on the wall surfaces and the decorative woodwork and trim. Such exterior painting required skill and patience to execute correctly and aesthetically. Their store/home is no longer extant, but the surviving black and white photographs give some idea of its fanciful paint scheme (Betsinger 1970:69-72).

Typology

Buildings related to the Danish immigrant influence on the construction trades and industries include buildings associated with the industries themselves, buildings constructed from the materials manufactured by these industries, and buildings constructed and designed by immigrant craftsmen. The building trades most influenced by the Danish immigrants of the two county area include lumber, brick, cement, carpentry, and masonry. Buildings associated with the lumber industry include those which comprise the lumberyards themselves--lumber sheds, offices, stores, storage sheds, coal elevators, and carpentry shops. The brickyards consisted of kilns, drying sheds, chimneys, offices, and clay pits, while the cement industry consisted primarily of the cement products factory,

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gravel and sand pits, and offices. The distinctive products of these industries were constructed into the commercial and residential buildings of the Danish settlement area by the skilled masons and carpenters, many of whom learned their trades in Denmark. As noted previously, of the 25 commercial buildings recorded in Elk Horn and Kimballton, 10 were constructed of locally manufactured concrete blocks and 12 were constructed of locally manufactured brick and clay tile. Buildings constructed by skilled immigrant craftsmen and their apprentices from materials made by Danish-influenced industries, reflect the ethnic influence of this group on the region's architecture and commercial and industrial development.

Buildings and sites associated with the Danish immigrant construction trades and industries are important because they represent the influence of this population on the region's industrial, commercial, agricultural, and residential architecture. Not only the buildings and sites of the industries, but also the products manufactured by these industries are tangible evidence of the Danish immigrant influence in the two county area. Added to this, is the influence of the Danish immigrant builders and their apprentices who left their mark on the buildings of the region. Therefore, buildings and sites associated with the Danish-influenced lumber, brick, and cement industries and/or with skilled carpentry and masonry work are significant at the local level. It may be found by future investigations that some of the buildings designed and constructed by Danish immigrant craftsmen such as Carl V. Andersen, may have added significance at the state and national levels; however, at present not enough is known about the individual Danish craftsmen who emigrated from Denmark to evaluate significance beyond the local level.

Extant Examples. The following are a few of the known extant examples of buildings and sites associated with Danish immigrant construction trades and industries during the 1865-1924 period of significance. This listing does not include the above-noted houses and barns constructed by the individual carpenters:

Green Bay Lumber Company, Jacksonville, 1901

Jensen Construction Company Office, Kimballton, 1912 (modified)

Brick commercial buildings (n= 12), Kimballton and Elk Horn, post-1909

Concrete block commercial buildings (n= 10), Kimballton (post-1906) and Elk Horn (post-1907)

Brick commercial blocks, Harlan, 1881-1882

Non-Extant Examples. The following are a few of the non-extant examples of sites associated with Danish immigrant construction trades and industries during the period of significance:

Sorensen Brickyard, Harlan, 1880 (site now built over) (see White 1915:372)

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Crystal Springs Clay Products Company, Kimballton, 1909 (designated as archaeological site 13AB8)

Brayton Cement Works, Brayton, c. 1910 (see Book Committee 1978a)

Elk Horn Cement Works, Elk Horn, established c. 1906-1912 (see History Book Committee 1983:III-8)

i. Building Trends

The following discussion of the building trends of the Danish settlement area is based upon the results of the present ethnic survey and those of the two previous architectural investigations in the Elk Horn/Kimballton area conducted by Signe Betsinger (1970) and Thomas Carter (1987). The residential typology is based primarily on Carter's classifications, with added observations from the results of the present survey. Because Betsinger's and Carter's studies both dealt only with residential architecture, the present study utilized Allen G. Noble's (1984) study of barns and farm structures to classify the recorded barns in the survey area. This discussion will not address potential Danish ethnic influences in the region's architecture, rather these will be discussed in Section III of this document. The purpose of this context is to provide a framework in which all residential buildings and barns can be examined beyond their contributions as components of districts or farmsteads. This context is not intended to be a finite classification, but rather a classification which will be expanded upon and refined by future investigations. Of particular interest would be a typology of agricultural and residential support buildings and structures for the Danish settlement area.

Residential Architecture

A total of 103 houses were recorded during the ethnic survey of the Danish settlement area of Shelby and Audubon counties. These are being classified into the following house types as defined by Thomas Carter (1987) and the results of this survey: Frontier Housing, Gabled Cottage, Gabled Ell, Gabled Double-Pile, Side-Passage, Hipped Cottage, Four-Square, and Bungalow. These are the house types for which extant and non-extant examples are known or recorded in the Danish settlement area. The terms "Gabled Double-Pile," "Side-Passage," and "Four-Square" are taken from Carter's (1987) study. Added to the total of 103 houses recorded, are 13 extant houses recorded by Carter in 1987 and 11 extant houses recorded by Signe Betsinger in 1970. In addition these studies provided data concerning 11 non-extant houses, all but one of which was recorded by Betsinger.

Frontier Housing. The earliest residences established by the Danish immigrants on what was then the "frontier" of western Iowa included log cabins, dugouts, sod houses, and frame cabins. The determining factor in the materials used for construction was the availability of timber. There are extant log and early frame cabins in the two county area, and it is documented in the historic literature that there were also once a number of dugouts as well as some sod dwellings, none of which survive except as archaeological sites. In the Danish settlement area, there are no known extant examples of frontier housing;

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however, there are a number of potential archaeological frontier housing sites which may have the ability to yield information important to our understanding of early Danish immigrant settlement in the two county area. A few dugout and frame cabin archaeological sites were examined and recorded by the ethnic survey indicating the potential for this early settlement resource. The general temporal range for frontier housing in this area is from 1865 to 1875 based upon known and potential resources. This period represents the earliest settlement by Danish immigrants in the region from the first permanent settlement at Cuppy's Grove to the early settlements in Jackson and Clay townships in Shelby County and in Exira township in Audubon county.

Non-Extant Examples:

Ole Jacobsen dugout, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1869-70 (potential archaeological site) (see Christensen 1987:7)

Hans Nissen dugout, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c. 1873 (designated as archaeological site 13SH10)

Hans Nissen frame cabin, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c. 1874 (see Betsinger 1970:83)

Brown frame cabin, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c. 1875 (see Betsinger 1970:100-101)

Gabled Cottage [Plate E1]. The gabled cottage was another early house type characteristic of the Danish immigrant settlement of the two county area. This house type is characterized by a front or side gabled building, one room deep and one to two rooms wide. It is a simple house type with few exterior elaborations. It differs from a frontier frame cabin in that it is of a more substantial construction, whereas a frame cabin was often more of a shanty or a shack. Some early gabled cottages have survived to the present day primarily because they were later enlarged with rear or side ells. A total of three gabled cottages were recorded by the ethnic survey, with the addition of one gabled cottage from Carter's study and two gabled cottages from Betsinger's study. Non-extant examples included one from Carter's study and three from Betsinger's study, for a total sample population of ten gabled cottages (six extant and four non-extant). The general temporal range for this house type in the Danish settlement area is from the 1870s-1890s based on known examples.

One particular variant of the Gabled Cottage house type in the Danish settlement area has been designated as the Central-Passage type in Thomas Carter's (1987) study of the Elk Horn/Kimballton vicinity. This type is described as having a "passage (usually containing the staircase) between two roughly square rooms" (Carter 1987:3) (Figure E17). Like the Gabled Cottage, this variant is one room deep and one to one-and-one-half stories in height.

Another variant found in the Danish settlement area is that defined as the Hall-Parlor type in Carter's study. This type "is composed of a single square room, the hall, with a smaller room serving as the best room or parlor attached to the side" (Carter 1987:2) (Figure E18). It is also one room deep and one-and-one-half to two stories in height and often has a central gabled wall dormer. From

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the exterior this type is extremely difficult to distinguish from the central-passage type.

Extant Examples:

Erik Simonsen house, south edge of Kimballton, 1879 (central-passage type)

Martin Boose house, 2012 Washington, Elk Horn, (hall-parlor type)

T. P. Petersen house, Section 11, Jackson Township, Shelby County (greatly modified, original portion was a gabled cottage)

Gladhjem house, 4231 Union St., Elk Horn, 1879 (moved, hall-parlor type, see Carter 1987)

Jorgen Petersen house, Jackson Township, Shelby County (modified, central passage type) (see Betsinger 1970:100)

Kris S. Petersen house, Hamlin Township, Audubon County, c. 1894 (modified, gabled cottage, see Betsinger 1970:229)

Non-Extant Examples:

Niels Nielsen house, Sharon Township, Audubon County, c. 1888 (hall-parlor type, see Betsinger 1970:59, 105)

Christensen house, Section 30, Sharon Township, Audubon County (hall-parlor type, see Carter 1987)

Hans Madsen house, Kimballton, 1895 (see Betsinger 1970:139)

C. C. Moller house, Sharon Township, Audubon County, c. 1897-1898 (see Betsinger 1970:148)

Gabled Ell [Plate E2]. Gabled ell houses consist of two wings placed at right angles to one another most commonly forming either a "T" or an "L" shape (Figure E19). Carter's 1987 study refers to this basic type as the Cross-Wing; however, the present study utilizes the Gabled Ell designation because a number of the gabled ell forms may actually be gabled cottages, either hall-parlor or central-passage types, that have had ell additions made to the original building. However, without an examination of the interior floorplans and detailing of each house, which was not possible given the constraints of the present survey, such distinctions are impossible to make with the given information. Therefore, it is recognized that this category is a general one at present, and should be refined by more intensive future surveys. A total of 28 gabled ell houses were recorded by the present survey with the addition of three extant examples from Carter's study and three extant and two non-extant from Betsinger's study, for a total sample population of 34 extant and two non-extant. The gabled ell type has a temporal range which overlaps with that of the gabled cottage for the above-noted reasons. This type has a range of 1870s-early 1900s based upon known examples.

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Gable screens and highly decorative porches appear on many of the Danish immigrant gabled ell houses. A number also exhibit gabled wall dormers on one or both of the ell facades, commonly a centrally-placed dormer, thus resembling the variants of gabled cottages as noted above. One variety has the side gabled ell oriented as the front facade with a central gabled wall dormer and symmetrical fenestration, while another has the side gabled ell with the central dormer as the side facade. Gabled ell houses are generally one-and-one-half to two stories in height, although some types exhibit ells of differing heights. Porches are common and generally exhibit Queen Anne stylistic elaboration in the form of turned spindleposts, spindlefriezes, brackets, and turned balusters.

Variants of the gabled ell form noted during the present survey include a two story side-gabled house that is possibly more correctly termed an I-house, but does possess a rear ell thus giving a T or L shape. More intensive examination of this variant may indicate that the form is that of an I-house with the ell being a later addition.

A second gabled ell variant is a form which has a long side gabled facade with a front gabled ell projecting from the center of the side gabled facade [Plate 3]. The front ell commonly has a bay window on the facade and is flanked by porches on the side gabled wings. Some examples have gabled wall dormers on the side gabled facades and exhibit elaborate decorative woodwork.

A third gabled ell variant is a form which has a center side gabled portion flanked by projecting front gabled ells or wings creating an H or U-shaped house [Plate E4]. This form may or may not have a centrally-placed tower and gabled wall dormers on the side wings. It is known that in at least two cases, this compound wing form is the result of later additions to a gabled cottage or gabled ell form; however, its resemblance to the 1887 and 1910 Elk Horn folk school buildings is striking.

A fourth and final gabled ell variant is distinguished simply by clipped gabled roofs on both ells.

Extant Examples:

Jens T. Larsen house, 103 Main St., Kimballton, c. 1893-1894

John D. Bush house, 219 N. Kilworth, Exira, c. 1873 (built by Danish immigrant carpenter, Jens Uriah Hansen)

Chris N. Larsen house, 404 Reynolds, Brayton, c. 1893-1894

Marius Mickelsen house (Greenridge Farm), Section 12, Douglas Township, Shelby County, c. 1885-1886

Anders Rasmussen house, Section 2, Jackson Township, Shelby County
(abandoned)

Mattsen house, Section 3, Jackson Township, Shelby County (abandoned)

C. N. Jensen house, Section 2, Jackson Township, Shelby County (unused except for storage, deteriorating)

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Hans J. Jorgensen house, north end of Main St., Kimballton, c. 1874
(modified)

Whistler house, 202 S. Cottage, Exira (I-house variant)

Hansen house, Main St., Elk horn, 1895, remodeled 1905 (moved, projecting
center ell variant)

H. P. Nelsen house, Section 8, Oakfield Township, Audubon County
(projecting center ell variant)

Christensen house, Section 2, Oakfield Township, Audubon County (projecting
center ell variant)

Nelsen house, Section 20, Sharon Township, Audubon County (modified,
compound wing variant)

Hans Marcussen house, Section 16, Sharon Township, Audubon County, 1895,
remodeled 1905 (modified, compound wing variant)

Gjodesen house, Section 14, Clay Township, Shelby County (see Carter
1987)

Pedersen house, 2125 Park St., Elk Horn, c. 1885 (see Carter 1987)

Simonsen house, Section 23, Jackson Township, Shelby County (see Carter
1987)

John W. Dodge house, Hamlin Township, Audubon County, c. 1872 (modified,
see Betsinger 1970:109-111)

Mortensen house, Jackson Township, Shelby County (modified, see
Betsinger 1970:228)

Martin N. Esbeck house, Main St., Kimballton, c. 1895 (modified, see
Betsinger 1970:134)

Non-Extant Examples:

Rudolph Andersen house, Main St., Kimballton, c. 1904 (see Betsinger
1970:71)

Jens Uriah Hansen house, Oakfield Township, Audubon County, c. 1898
(see Betsinger 1970:233)

Gabled Double-Pile [Plates E5 and E6]. The gabled double-pile house type as defined by Thomas Carter (1987:3) is one-and-one-half stories high, has a broad gabled roof, and is two rooms wide by two rooms deep. Thus, the term "gabled double-pile" as defined by Carter refers to the roof shape and the massing of the ground plan. In the Elk Horn/Kimballton vicinity, this type generally also has a centrally-placed front-facing dormer (usually containing a double window) and a front porch that may have either a bungalow-style gabled

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roof or a low-pitched hipped roof supported by classical, round columns. The present survey indicated that the central dormers of this house type are of three varieties: a broad, triangular wall dormer where the roofline of the dormer meets the raking eaves of the house; a broad, wall dormer whose gabled roofline terminates above the house roof slope and the dormer itself actually has side walls; and a broad, gabled wall dormer which has projects out from the house facade down to the first story porch roof. These houses generally have few exterior elaborations, although they often have one-story bay windows and some have spindlework screens in the gable peaks and Free Classic Queen Anne style porches, although, in some cases, these elaborations are later additions to an earlier house. A total of 19 gabled double-pile houses were recorded by the ethnic survey in the Danish settlement area. Added to this total were four houses recorded by Carter and two houses recorded by Betsinger, for a total sample population of 25 extant examples. The temporal range for this house type extends from the mid-1890s to the mid-1910s, although a number are known to have been built c. 1908.

Several variants of the gabled double-pile form were noted during the present survey. These house forms are two rooms deep, gable roofed, and generally two rooms wide; however, the orientation and form of the gabled roof, the configuration of the dormers, and some of the exterior elaborations differ from the "pure" gabled double-pile form as defined above.

One variant is a form which, instead of the centrally-placed dormer, has either a broad cross-gable which extends across the entire front facade (almost effectively making the main side gabled roof appear to be side dormers) or paired gables on the front facade often coupled with true gabled wall dormers on the sides. The latter is not a common house type in the region, and in one case, is the result of later additions to a gabled cottage.

Another variant, which is relatively common in the region, is characterized by a front gabled orientation with hipped or gabled roofed wall dormers on the sides [Plate E7]. Typically, this form has double or paired windows in the front gable end and a simple, portico front porch supported by classical columns, although some exterior elaborations in the form of gable screens and decorative shingle siding or woodwork are known.

Extant Examples:

Hans Koch house, south edge of Kimballton, 1908 (brick)

Chris Larsen house, 4215 Main, Elk Horn, c. 1908

Fredericksen house, 2006 Washington, Elk Horn

Rasmussen house, 106 W. 2nd St., Kimballton

Chris Jorgensen house, Section 6, Sharon Township, Audubon County

Hans P. Boldt house, W. 2nd St., Kimballton, 1908

Carlson house, 4404 Main, Elk Horn (moved back on lot)

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Christensen house, 4227 Main, Elk Horn

Hanson house, Section 20, Polk Township, Shelby County, 1916

Hoegh house, Brayton

Hansen House, Brayton, 1915 (broad cross-gable variant)

Lars Larsen house, west end of Aero St., Kimballton (paired gable variant)

Jesse Nymand house, Brayton (front gable variant)

Jens Petersen house, Section 12, Jackson Township, Shelby County (front gable variant)

Rasmus Petersen house, 105 W. 2nd St., Kimballton (front gable variant)

Dahl house, Section 3, Clay Township, Shelby County (see Carter 1987)

Smith house, Section 19, Sharon Township, Audubon County (see Carter 1987)

Fredericksen house, Section 11, Clay Township, Shelby County (see Carter 1987)

Wyman house, Section 35, Clay Township, Shelby County (see Carter 1987)

Hans Nissen third house, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c. 1894 (see Betsinger 1970:126-127)

Christensen house, Kimballton, c. 1900 (modified, see Betsinger 1970: 150)

Side-Passage [Plate E8]. The side-passage house type was defined by Carter's 1987 study as a "Victorian Side-Passage," which is generally irregular in shape, highly ornamental, and having a "roughly square or rectangular plan with an entrance passage inserted in an indentation to one side of the principal elevation" (Carter 1987:6). Carter further noted that late Victorian styling, such as turned posts, gabled screens, brackets, and fanciful towers, was very popular in the region, particularly on the side-passage and variants of the four-square house type. The results of present survey further defines the side-passage type as having a pyramidal or truncated hipped roof with lower gabled ells typical of Queen Anne styling. Other late Victorian derivations which may or may not be present include wrap-around porches, elaborate bargeboards, canted bays or ells, and towers.

An additional noteworthy element is the relatively small scale of the Victorian side-passage house in the region, particularly in the Danish settlement area. In one case, the house is very nearly a miniaturized version of a Queen Anne style house, a style generally very large in scale. There are larger side-passage homes in the same area, although these tend to be later in construction (i.e., in the 1900s-1910s as opposed to the 1890s), and more "Neoclassical" in stylistic derivation than Victorian thus the elimination of the term "Victorian" from this house type classification. A total of 15 side-passage houses were recorded by the present survey in the Danish settlement area, with the addition

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of one side-passage example from Carter's study, for a total sample population of 16. The temporal range for this house type extends from the late 1890s-1910 based upon known examples.

Extant Examples:

Nels B. Andersen house, 2105 Pleasant, Elk Horn, 1899

Soren Petersen house, 4300 Union St., Elk Horn, c. 1904

Peter Lykke house, W. 2nd St., Kimballton, 1908

House, 4314 Main St., Elk Horn, early 1900s

Nielsen house, 2000 Washington, Elk Horn, early 1900s

Hansen house, 207 N. Kilworth, Exira, c. 1900

Jacobsen house, Section 36, Jackson Township, Shelby County

Delahoyde house, 206 S. Carthage, Exira, c. 1900

Andersen house, Section 27, Sharon Township, Audubon County (see Carter 1987)

Hipped Cottage [Plate E9]. This house type was defined by the present survey of the Danish settlement area and consists of a one story, square to rectangular house with a pyramidal or truncated hipped roof. It differs from the four-square type by the smaller size of the overall proportion of the house plan. A hipped cottage floor plan may have four rooms, but generally the rooms are not of equal size or necessarily square in dimension. Hipped cottages are generally plain, but examples were noted, particularly in Exira, that have bands of decorative shingle siding under the eaves and Queen Anne style porches. Some examples exhibited hipped or gabled dormers on the roof slope, and one had a distinctive gabled recessed porch dormer on the front roof slope. A total of nine hipped cottage houses were recorded by the present survey. The site history of the present sample population is not well known, therefore, at present a temporal range cannot be given for this house type, although it is suspected that it has an 1890s-1900s temporal range.

Extant Examples:

Gearhart house, 200 N. Kilworth, Exira

House, 210 N. Kilworth, Exira

House, 311 N. Kilworth, Exira

House, 307 N. Kilworth, Exira

Kammes House, 105 N. Jefferson, Exira

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Frank Kammes house, 208 N. Kilworth, Exira

House, W. 2nd St., Kimballton

Chris Christensen house, Brayton

Four-Square [Plate E10]. Carter (1987:7) defined the four-square type as being a one to two story cube-shaped house with a hipped roof. Common features include a wide, one-story front porch and a central hipped dormer on the roof slope. Carter further noted that this type is generally derived from the Neoclassical and Prairie School styles and was common "throughout the United States in the years after 1900" (Carter 1987:7). His study also noted, however, that variants of the four-square found in the two county region often exhibit late Victorian styling, including decorative shingles and woodwork, brackets, towers, and elaborate Queen Anne and Free Classic style porches. The present study noted that some of the houses which fit the side-passage category also exhibit Neoclassical elements. A total of 22 four-square houses were recorded by the present survey in the Danish settlement area, with two additional examples noted by Carter's study, three extant and one non-extant examples noted by Betsinger's study, and one non-extant noted from photographic collections in the area. Combined, these studies provided a total sample population of 29 houses of which two are non-extant. The temporal range for this house type extends from 1901-1924 based on known examples, with the majority dating from 1901-1908.

Variants of the four-square type noted in the present study include square, pyramidal or truncated hipped-roofed, one to two story houses with centrally-placed triangular gabled wall dormers or paired wall dormers. These houses commonly have one story bay windows, elaborate porches, sunbursts in the gable peaks, and in several cases, elaborate towers [Plates E11 and E12]. This variant is very common in the Danish settlement area, although not exclusive to that ethnic group. At least four known examples of this variant were designed and built by Danish immigrant carpenter, Carl V. Andersen.

Another variant is a two-story four square house with gabled wall dormers but having a large, distinctive two-story porch on the front facade [Plate E13]. This particular variant was favored by Jacksonville carpenter James F. Barmington, who built the only known examples in the Danish settlement area.

Extant Examples:

Chris Poldberg house, Section 27, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1907
(gabled wall dormer variant)

Andrew P. Hansen house, Section 4, Oakfield Township, Audubon County, 1901
(gabled wall dormer variant)

Martin Henriksen house, Section 1, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c.
1905 (gabled wall dormer variant)

Andrew M. Petersen house, Section 1, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c.
1906 (two story porch variant)

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- Larsen house, Section 5, Oakfield Township, Audubon County, 1916
- Andrew Jensen house, Section 27, Sharon Township, Audubon County, 1912
- Nelsen house, Section 34, Oakfield Township, Audubon County
- Federated Church Parsonage, E. Washington, Exira
- L. P. Rasmussen house, Brayton (modified)
- J. P. Christoffersen house, Section 17, Oakfield Township, Audubon County, 1924 (brick)
- N. P. Nielsen house, Section 3, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1916
- Soren Sorensen house, W. 2nd St., Kimballton
- Jens Otto Christensen house, College Ave., Elk Horn, c. 1908 (paired gabled wall dormer variant)
- Nicholas Ohms house, Section 30, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1906 (modified, paired gabled wall dormer variant, once had tower)
- Christ T. Christensen house, Section 15, Jackson Township (gabled wall dormer variant)
- William C. Onken house, Brayton (gabled wall dormer variant)
- Richard Stewart house, Section 21, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c. 1910 (two story porch variant)
- Jensen house, Section 24, Clay Township, Shelby County (see Carter 1987)
- Madsen house, one mile north of Elk Horn (see Carter 1987)
- Jorgen Hartvigsen house, Sharon Township, Audubon County (modified, see Betsinger 1970:130)
- C. C. Moller second house (White Star Farm), Sharon Township, Audubon County, 1912 (see Betsinger 1970:186)
- Andrew Topp house, Sharon Township, Audubon County, 1915 (see Betsinger 1970:190)

Non-Extant Examples:

- Frank Mikelsen house, Jacksonville, 1905 (gabled wall dormer variant, see Betsinger 1970:230)
- Mike Christensen house, Jacksonville (paired gabled wall dormer variant with tower, see Shelby County Historical Society 1976:130)

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Bungalow [Plate E14]. The bungalow was a house type that became nationally popular in the 1910s. This pattern book form is derived from the Prairie and Craftsman styles of architecture and is generally low and horizontal in emphasis. Carter's study noted that this type occurs in two main varieties: the first is one to two stories, rectangular with the narrow end toward the street and has a low-pitched Prairie School style hipped roof or a Craftsman style gabled roof; the second has its broad side oriented towards the street and has a steeply pitched side gable roof pierced by a large central gabled dormer and Craftsman style design components. The latter variety with the centrally-placed dormer is reminiscent of the gabled double-pile house form and was very popular in the Danish settlement area. Because this house type occurred relatively late in the period of significance and was rarely the first generation or even second generation house associated with Danish immigrant settlement, the present survey did not focus on a comprehensive survey of this house type. Therefore, only seven examples were recorded, with the addition of two recorded by Carter and one recorded by Betsinger, for a total sample population of ten. The Bungalow house type has a general temporal range in the project area of 1910-1930.

Extant Examples:

Nissager House, W. 2nd St., Kimballton, 1912

House, 4308 Main, Elk Horn, c. 1912 (same design as Nissager house)

House, 4316 Main, Elk Horn

Bjorn house, W. 2nd St., Kimballton, c. 1910

Ben F. Jensen house, 304 N. Kilworth, Exira

Jacobsen house, Section 36, Clay Township, Audubon County (see Carter 1987)

Pedersen house, 4420 Main St., Elk Horn (see Carter 1987)

Herman Hansen house, Elk Horn, 1910 (see Betsinger 1970:62)

Houses are the primary buildings associated with specific Danish immigrants and immigrant builders. As such, they are the buildings which are most closely identified with the personal lives, talents, and accomplishments of individuals and reflect personal tastes in architectural styles and decorative embellishments as well as economic levels. If ethnicity is reflected in the architecture of the Shelby/Audubon area, it will be most evident in the residences of the immigrants and their descendants. Aside from that consideration, the residences designed and constructed by skilled immigrant builders will, to some extent, reflect their architectural preferences as well as showcasing their particular talents and training. Therefore, houses designed and built for immigrants or by immigrants will be significant at the local level.

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A total of 61 barns were recorded in the Danish settlement area of Shelby and Audubon counties by the present survey. From this sample, four basic barn types were defined involving a total sample population of 46 barns. The remaining 15 barns were either unidentifiable as to specific type due to deterioration, the inability to examine the interiors, or were individual examples of aberrant forms which defied classification based on a single incidence. The barn typology is based upon Allen G. Noble's (1984) study of barns and other farm structures, with the addition of a type defined from observations in the sample population. The three types identified from Noble's study include: Transverse-Frame, Midwest Three-Portal, and Euro-American. The fourth type identified from the survey sample is the Square Hipped Roof barn.

Transverse-Frame [Plate E15]. The Transverse-Frame Barn is a rectangular building with a central opening in each gable end.

Most transverse-frame barns tend to be longer than wide. Gable wall widths are about twenty-four to thirty feet, and side walls are slightly longer (twenty-eight to thirty-six feet). The loft or mows may be loaded from the outside, or inside directly from a vehicle standing in the aisle. Front and back doors permitted the horse or mule-drawn wagons to pass through the structure for ease of unloading (Noble 1984: 11).

In the Danish settlement area of Shelby and Audubon counties, the transverse-frame barns are larger, with front gable walls approximately 30-36 feet wide and side walls, of the three- to four-bent barns, usually 48-54 feet long excluding shed additions. Even among barns which have the same bent system, there is some variation in the floor plans. For example, the Lars Petersen barn in Section 11 of Jackson Township has an incomplete aisle with no central entrance in the east end and the John Nelson barn in Section 11 of Jackson Township has a cross aisle floor plan with entrances on all four sides. The Peter Petersen barn in Section 9 of Jackson Township is unique in its hill siting which accommodates an unramped central aisle at the top of the slope and basement level cattle stalls at the base of the slope under the north side of the barn. All three of these barns have the same "Jacksonville bent system" which is discussed below (Figure E20).

Usually, the ground floor of the transverse-frame barn was used primarily for livestock, with horse stalls on one side of the central aisle and stalls for cows on the other. Sometimes there is a small grain bin, usually in a corner. Hay was stored in the loft above the livestock. A total of 22 transverse-frame barns were recorded in the Danish settlement area. In general, this barn type has a wide temporal range of 1887-1924 based on known examples.

A local variant of the transverse-frame barn is herein designated as the "Jacksonville Barn" which is found primarily around the town of Jacksonville in Jackson Township, Shelby County [Plate E16]. The barns found in this area have common characteristics which, taken with the available historic data concerning the local barn building tradition, suggest that they were all built by groups of carpenters who worked out of the town of Jacksonville. Characteristics of the Jacksonville Barn are as follows:

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1. The same heavy timber bent system was used in all of these barns, and walls are of board and batten cladding. Historic photographs show that the boards were painted a dark color and the battens were contrasted in white, thus imparting a vertical stripe pattern that was quite distinctive.

2. Problems of light and ventilation were solved with the use of four-pane fixed windows in the first floor and louvered windows in the mow, all with the same decorative window surrounds. Most Jacksonville Barns have the same window surround type which has a segmental arched lintel board cut from a single piece of wood [Plate E17]. In the gable ends of the loft, there are usually two round louvered windows with circular surrounds. An elaborate piece of scrollwork was applied to the top, bottom, and each side of the window surround so that from a distance the windows look diamond-shaped [Plate E18].

3. The cupola is cross gabled with double-arched louvers on each side [Plate E19]. There is scrollwork centered above each pair of louvers.

4. Usually there are double haydoors which swing outward.

Extant Examples:

A. M. Petersen, horse barn, Section 1, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c. 1912

C. A. Christoffersen barn, Section 1, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1901

T. P. Petersen barns #1 and 2, Section 11, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c. 1890 and c. 1920, respectively

Andrew P. Hansen barn, Section 4, Oakfield Township, Audubon County, 1894

Hans J. Jorgensen barn #2, Kimballton (relocated on the farmstead)

Nelsen barn, Section 20, Sharon Township, Audubon County

Martin Henricksen barn, Section 1, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1899 (Jacksonville Barn variant)

A. M. Petersen cow barn, Section 1, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c. 1901 (Jacksonville Barn variant)

Chris Rasmussen barn, Section 2, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c. 1900 (Jacksonville Barn variant)

Anders Rasmussen barn, Section 2, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1887 (Jacksonville Barn variant)

John Christensen/John Nelsen barn, Section 11, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c. 1910 (Jacksonville Barn variant)

Peter Petersen barn, Section 9, Jackson Township, Shelby County (Jacksonville Barn variant, banked)

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Swen Madsen barn, Section 12, Jackson Township, Shelby County (Jacksonville Barn variant)

John Mattson barn, Section 3, Jackson Township, Shelby County (Jacksonville Barn variant)

Nicholas Ohms barn, Section 30, Jackson Township, Shelby County (Jacksonville Barn variant)

Thor Nelson barn, Section 13, Jackson Township, Shelby County (Jacksonville Barn variant)

Chris Petersen barn, Section 13, Jackson Township, Shelby County (Jacksonville Barn variant)

Chris Nelson barn, Section 11, Jackson Township, Shelby County (Jacksonville Barn variant)

Lars Petersen barn, Section 11, Jackson Township, Shelby County (Jacksonville Barn variant)

Midwest Three-Portal Barn [Plate E20]. Noble (1984) suggests that the Three-Portal Barn may be an expansion of the transverse-frame barn by adding an aisle at each side or by adding an aisle and another row of stalls at each side of the central aisle. Sometimes the central aisle is only a walkway, but there are three entrances in the gable end. This type of barn was commonly built throughout the southcentral United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These livestock barns are sometimes called "feeder barns." "The dimensions of this barn are between thirty-six and forty-two feet on a side, and often the gable wall is longer than the side wall" (Noble 1984:13-14). A total of 12 three-portal barns were recorded in the Danish settlement area. This type has a general temporal range of 1899-1924 based on known examples.

One variant of this type is characterized by a continuous steeply pitched roof [see Plate E20]. The Midwest Three-Portal Barns found in Shelby and Audubon counties often have very long steeply pitched gable roofs that come very near the ground. Fenestration under the eaves is small or absent. Sometimes the doors in the gable ends provide the only light and ventilation; however, often there are two small openings in the loft, one on either side of the hay door. This type of barn is very frequently found throughout the two county area.

The second variant is characterized by an interrupted, or monitor roof [Plate E21]. This three-portal barn also has three gable entrances to three aisles. This variant is far less common in the two county area.

Extant Examples:

A. M. Petersen sheep barn, Section 1, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1912 (steeply pitched roof variant)

Chris Rasmussen barn #2, Section 2, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c. 1914 (steeply pitched roof variant)

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Andrew P. Hansen barn #2, Section 4, Oakfield Township, Audubon County, 1903 (steeply pitched roof variant)

Chris Poldberg barn, Section 27, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1912 (steeply pitched roof variant)

Erik Simonsen barn #2, south edge of Kimballton (steeply pitched roof variant)

John Mattson barn, Section 3, Jackson Township, Shelby County (steeply pitched roof variant)

Nelsen barn, Section 20, Sharon Township, Audubon County (steeply pitched roof variant)

Jens Petersen barn, Section 12, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1899 (monitor roof variant)

Euro-American Barn [Plate E22]. This barn type is characterized by the following:

a small, squarish (35 by 42 feet) structure with a steeply pitched roof. The plan is of a central hay mow surrounded by stabling aisles on two or three sides. This barn has not been studied in North America, but may be derived from a north German barn" (Noble 1984:60).

This gabled barn has a long steeply pitched roof with a similarly pitched gable or hip roofed shed on the rear. This structure accommodates a central floor-to-ceiling hay stack with animal stalls wrapped around it on three sides in a U-shaped aisle. Hay is loaded into the barn through the hay door and stacked against the front gable wall of the barn. The central hay loft portion of the barn is of bent or pole construction. Roof supports extend diagonally upward and out from the central poles leaving a clear U-shaped aisle to accommodate the animals (Figure E21). Usually, the roof extends so low to the ground that there is little space above the animals' heads. Sometimes, however, there is space to accommodate flooring and hay storage above the animals. Although Noble suggests that this barn may have originated in Germany, it is also very similar to barn designs found in Denmark. Perhaps it is a European barn type which many immigrant groups brought with them to America. This barn is very common throughout the portions of Shelby and Audubon counties that were settled by Danes. A total of ten Euro-American barns were recorded in the Danish settlement area. At present, the historical data available concerning the recorded barns do not permit a summation of the temporal range for this barn type.

A variant of the Euro-American barn type is characterized by a monitor roof [Plate E23]. This variant has sheds which wrap around three sides of the barn. The steeply pitched roof of the sheds nearly reach the ground. The sheds on the rear of the barn are hip-roofed. This monitor roof variant is far less common in Shelby and Audubon counties than the common version with the continuous roof. In 1908 the Audubon County Republican advertised this "livestock shed" with floor plans and a drawing very similar in floor plan and elevation to this barn type (Figure E22). The article stated that the shed could house "25-30 head of

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steers" and should only cost about \$300 to build.

Extant Examples:

Erik Simonsen barn #1, south side of Kimballton

Niels P. Hoegh barn #3, Section 21, Oakfield Township, Audubon County

Nicholas Ohms barn #2, Section 30, Jackson Township, Shelby County
(monitor roof variant)

Edwin Larsen barn, Section 5, Oakfield Township, Audubon County (monitor
roof variant)

John Nissen barn, Section 15, Jackson Township, Shelby County (monitor roof
variant)

Square Hipped Roof Barn [Plate E24]. These large, square structures accommodated animals on the first floor with a very high-ceilinged hay loft above. Heavy timber construction was used for the animal stalls and as support for the hay loft floor, while the outer walls and upper story loft are of balloon framing construction. These square buildings have very broad, centrally-placed gabled wall dormers that extend almost all the way across each wall. The upper part of the loft is clear-span with no framing members crossing the space. One Square Hipped Roof barn was recorded in the Danish settlement, while an additional one is known from historic photographs. Two other variants of this barn type were recorded outside of the Danish settlement area and are included herein for comparative purposes.

The variant of this type found in the Danish immigrant settlement area is characterized by a pyramidal hipped roof. The one extant example in this area has a central aisle with animal stalls on either side. There is a grain bin in the northwest corner. A timber, 8'4" above the loft floor, extends from each wall to the opposite wall, and a central post supports the two timbers where they cross.

A second variant which was found outside of the Danish settlement area is characterized by a truncated hipped roof. This barn variant has gabled wall dormers, the peaks of which are even with the flat portion of the roof. There is no heavy timber construction in the loft of this variant.

A study of barns in McDonough County, Illinois, recorded approximately 18 extant barns very similar to the Square Hipped Roof barn type and built between 1892 and 1920 by two carpenters, Newt Willis of Table Grove, Illinois, and Nick Breasaw of Bushnell, Illinois (McDonough County Tourism Council n.d.). These barns all functioned as horse barns on "well-to-do" 80 acre farmsteads. Like the Shelby/Audubon barns of this type, the Illinois barns are characterized by heavy timber framing on the first floor with clear-span, open lofts. Unlike the Shelby/Audubon barns, the Illinois barns exhibited true cross-gabled roofs and a quantity of exterior decorative embellishments including decorative siding, scalloped shingles, and some cupolas. Interestingly, Newt Willis, who built the majority of these barns in McDonough County, also built a number of houses utilizing the same basic design (Slater, personal communication 1991). Such

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similarities were also noted in the Shelby/Audubon area, with the Square Hipped Roof barn having stylistic similarities with the Four-Square house type, Gabled Wall Dormer variant.

Extant Examples:

Hans J. Jorgensen barn, Kimballton, 1908 (pyramidal hipped roof variant)

Stutzman barn, Section 27, Center Township, Shelby County, 1901, outside of the Danish settlement area (truncated hipped roof variant)

K. Fiscus barn, Section 16, Douglas Township, Shelby County, outside of the Danish settlement area (truncated hipped roof variant)

Non-Extant Examples:

Chris N. Jensen barn, Section 3, Jackson Township, Shelby County (pyramidal hipped roof variant)

Barns are the primary structures associated with farming, the major economic activity in rural Iowa. They derive their significance from their central role to the success of nineteenth and early twentieth century farming operations. Because barns were key to the economic success or failure of the farming operation, they were often built before the house. Barns evidence the European farming experiences of the immigrants translated into the new American idiom as well as the desire to assimilate, including the adoption of American building designs.

Barns are instructive about the type of farming operations in which they played a central role. These nineteenth and early twentieth century barns have horse stalls, oat bins, and overhead hay storage which were designed for horse farming rather than tractor farming which was introduced in the 1930s. The barns have mows to accommodate loose hay rather than baled hay, the technology for which was also introduced in the 1930s. The livestock feeder barns and general purpose barns are reflective of the general purpose farming which existed before row crop farming became predominant in Iowa in the 1940s and 1950s.

The barns are also significant in displaying the skills and workmanship of immigrant craftsmen many of whom had learned their skills in Denmark. The use of locally available materials evidences the availability of milled lumber and locally produced brick, clay tile, and concrete blocks as well as the lack of quality stone for foundations. The barns also evidence the economic successes which the immigrant farmers were enjoying after a relatively short time in this country. Finally, the barns are also significant for the opportunity they afforded the immigrants for displaying the newly achieved wealth from their successful farming ventures. For all these reasons, therefore, ethnic-influenced or associated barns are significant at the local level.

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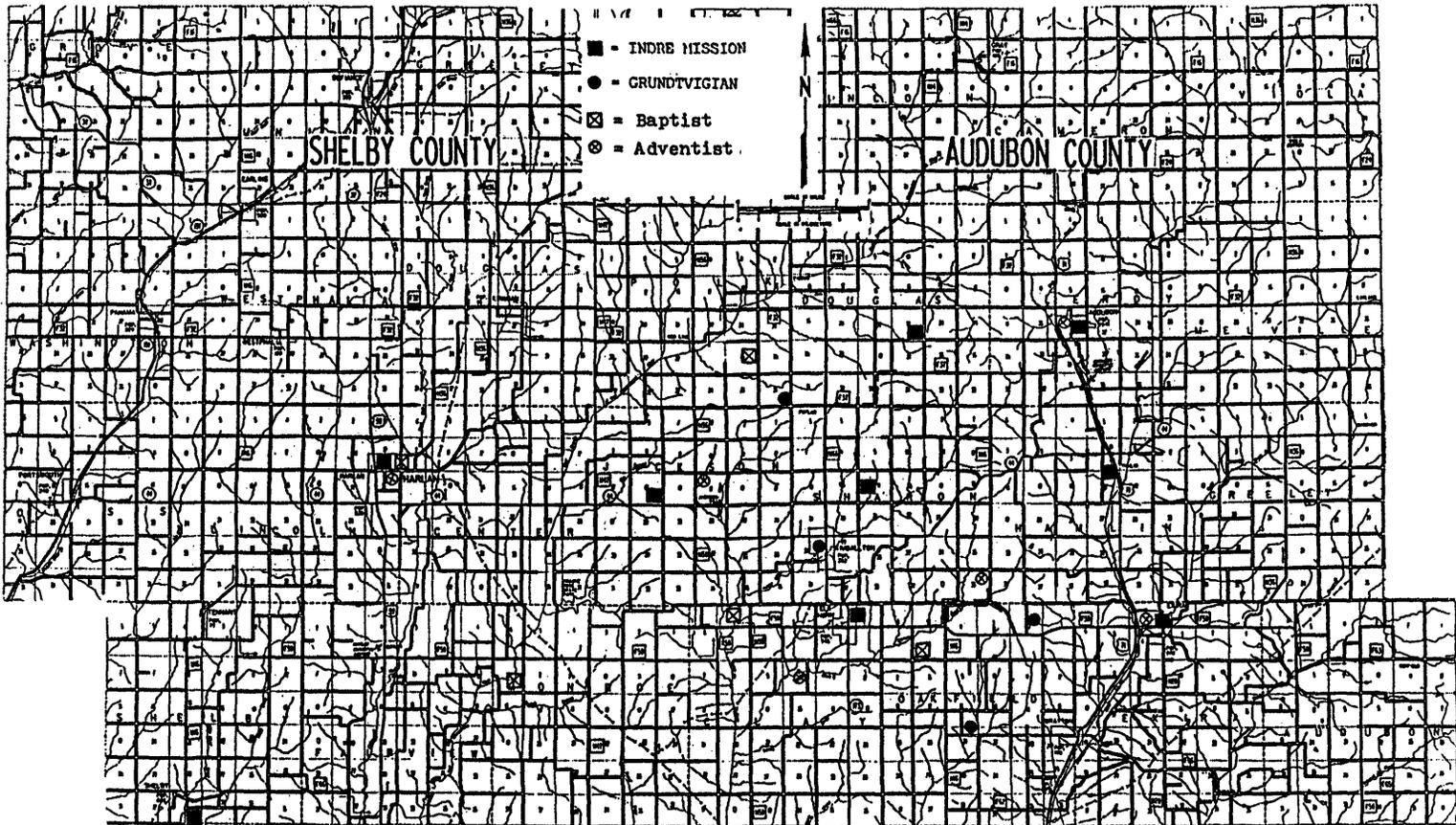


Figure E9. Map of Shelby and Audubon Counties Showing the Location of the Danish Churches.

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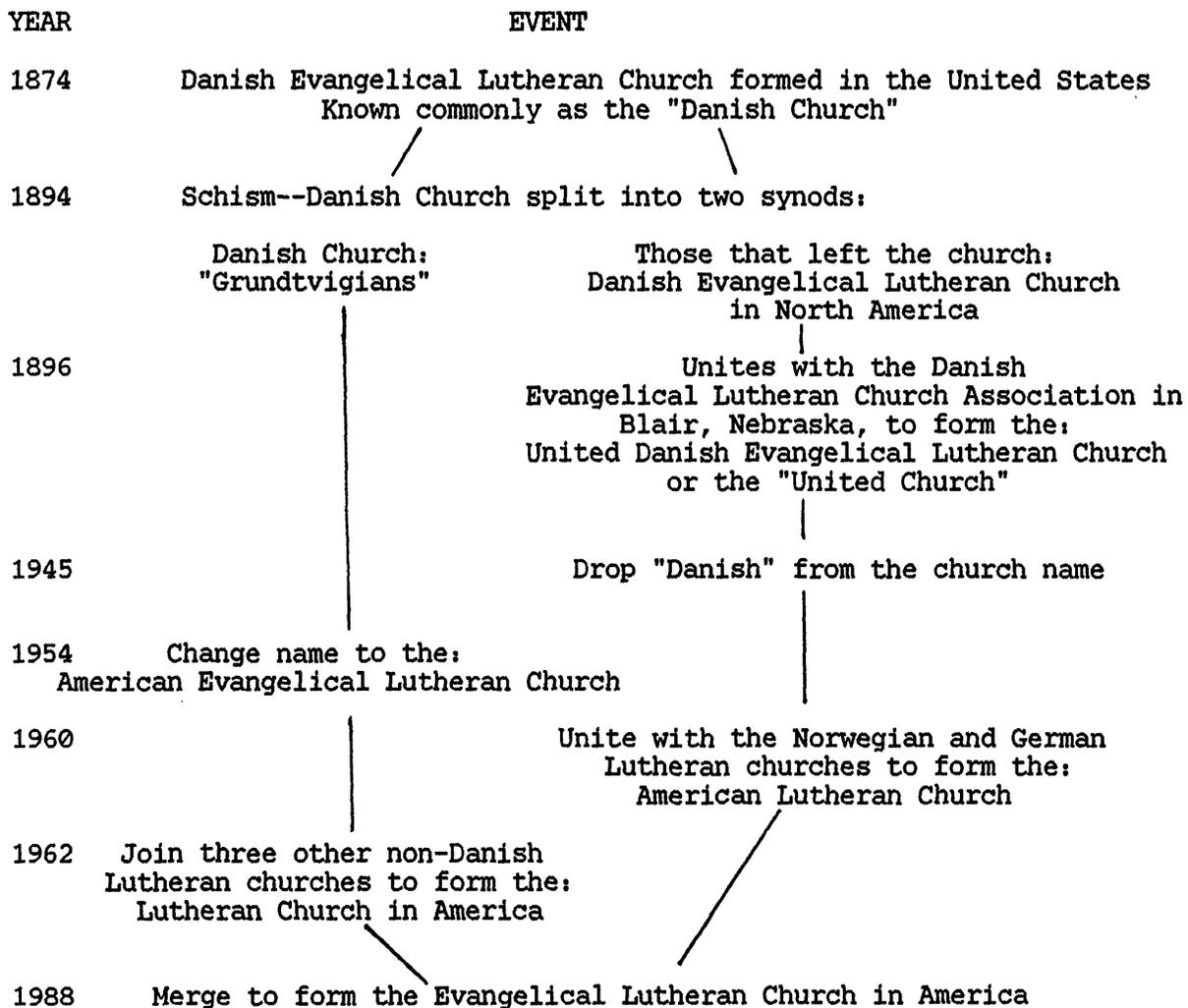


Figure E10. Diagram Showing the Development of the Danish Lutheran Church in The United States.

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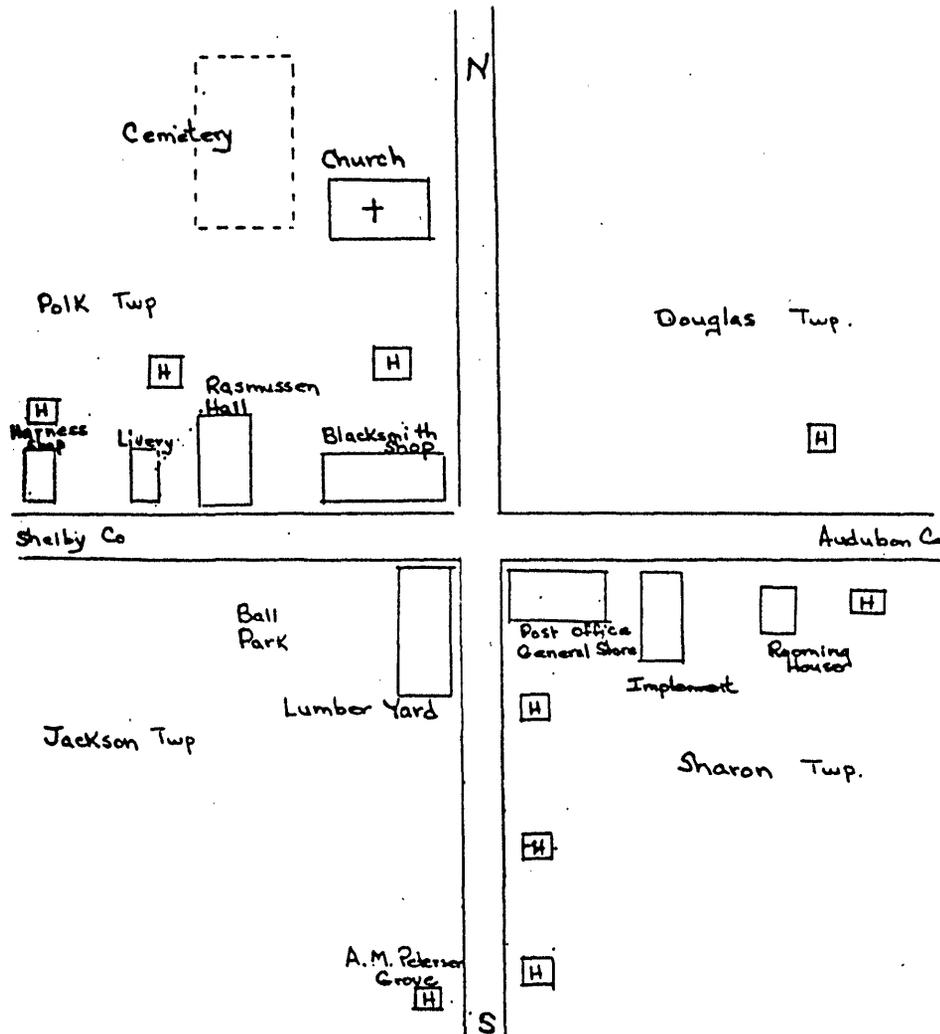


Figure E11. Plat of the Poplar Community.
Source: Book Committee 1985.

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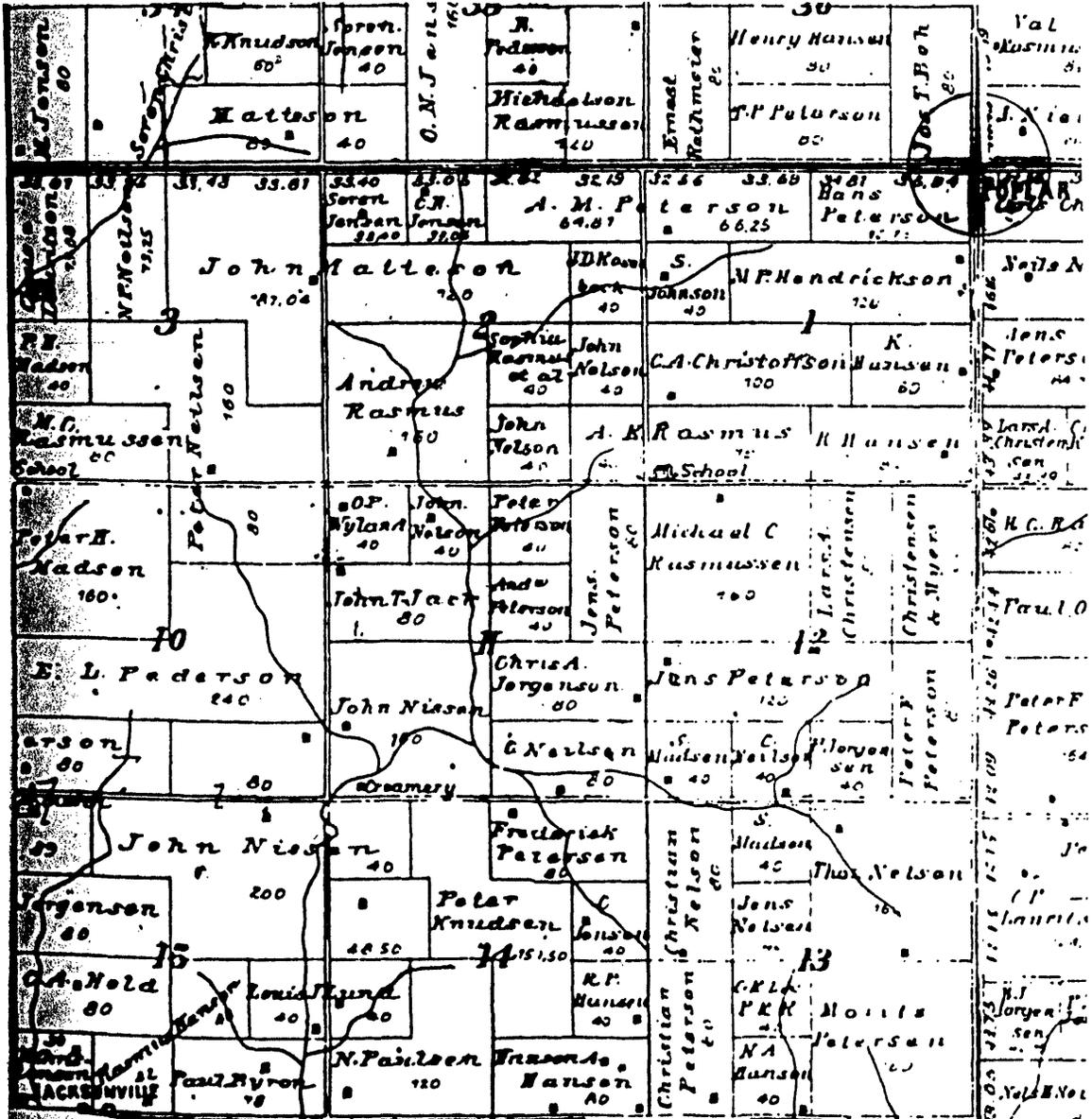


Figure E12. Map of the Poplar Community in 1900.
Source: Book Committee 1985.

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CLOVER LEAF HERD

--DUROC JERSEY--

BRED SOW SALE

In Heated Sale Pavillion, Harlan, Iowa

SATURDAY, JAN. 25, 1908

I have been breeding thoroughbred Duroc Jerseys several years, but this is my first public sale. I have heretofore been able to dispose of my surplus breeding stock to other breeders and my neighbor farmers at private sale.

SIRES AND BREEDING

The Aged Sows are mostly the get of King Perfection II., a well known and excellent sire, the Gilts of Tip Top Notcher's Best, also an excellent animal. The aged Sows and such Fall Gilts as are not related to him are bred back to Tip Top Notcher's Best, and the balance of the Gilts to two fine young males, Model Chief III., and Orange Wonder.

THE BOARS

I feel sure that farmers and breeders can make good use of the three Herd Boars here offered, and of the Seven Spring Boars. Come and see them and form your own opinion as to their excellences.

THE ENTIRE LOT

consists of good animals, out of good sires and dams, and I have grown them and will put them into the ring in best breeding condition. I would most cordially invite you to attend my sale, see what I have to offer, and buy such as you feel has merit sufficient to meet your needs.

All sows are guaranteed to be breeders. Any proving not in pig, I will return 20 per cent of the purchase price.

40 Bred Sows and Gilts, 3 Tried Herd Boars, 7 Spring Boars

TERMS--Cash, or bankable note bearing 7 per cent from date.

Mail bids can be forwarded to Col. H. S. Duncan, auctioneer, or George Walters, clerk, and will be treated fairly.

Parties from out of Shelby county will be entertained free.

Send to me for Catalogue, Route 5, Harlan, Iowa.

Col. H. S. DUNCAN, Auctioneer.
R. W. CARSON, STOD S. WICK, Assistants.
GEORGE WALTERS, Clerk.

C. A. RASMUSSEN.

Figure E13. Advertisement for the Clover Leaf Stock Farm.
Source: Shelby County Republican, January 1908.

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Figure E14. Early Windmill in Kimballton, Iowa.
Source: History Book Committee 1983.

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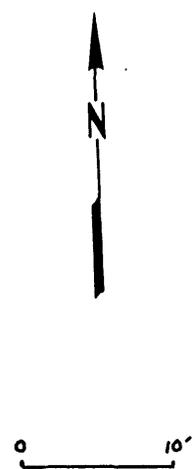
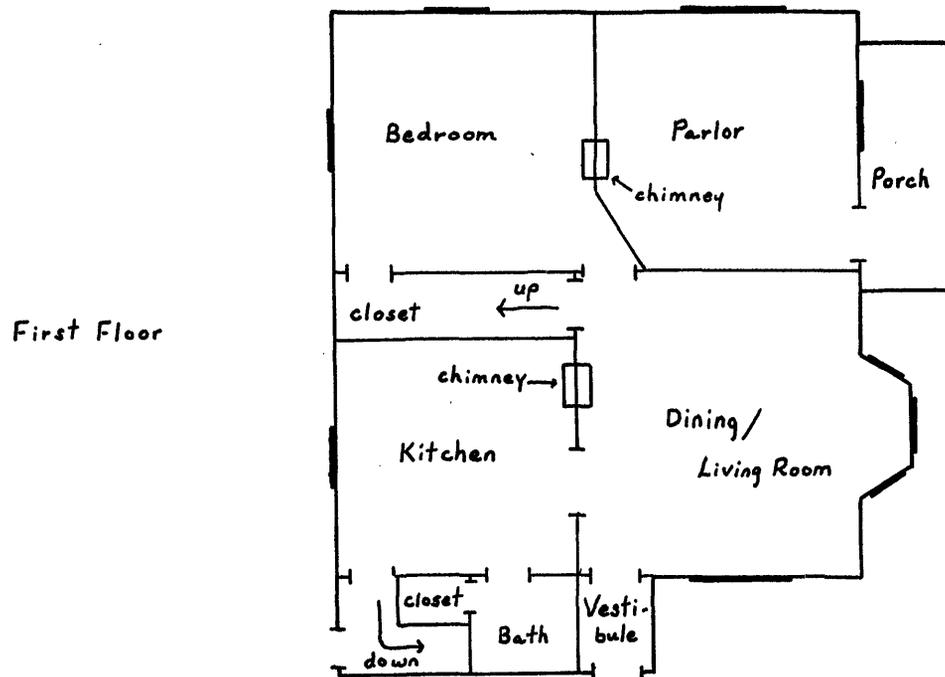
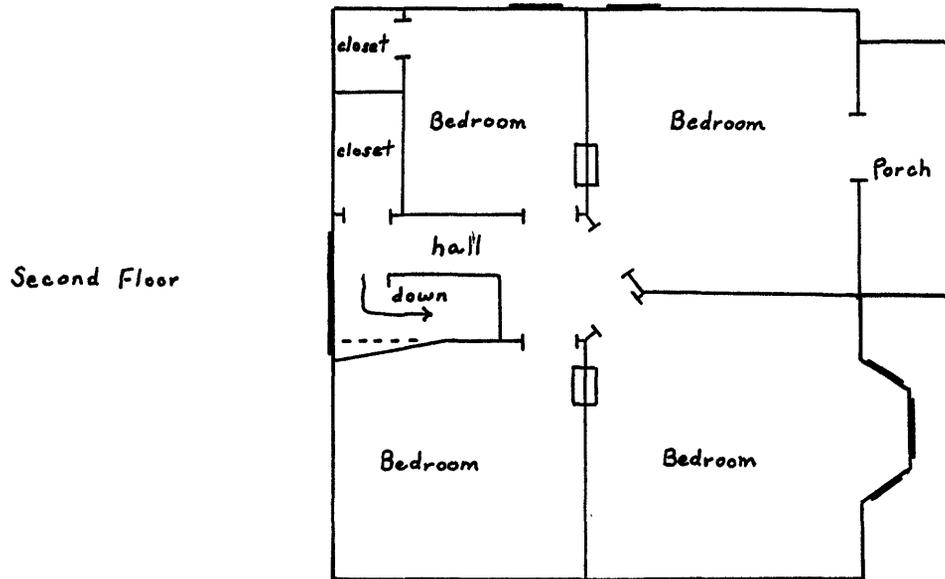


Figure E15. Floor Plan of the Martin P. Henricksen House, Poplar Rural District, Shelby County, Four-Square House Type, Oddly Angled Interior Walls.

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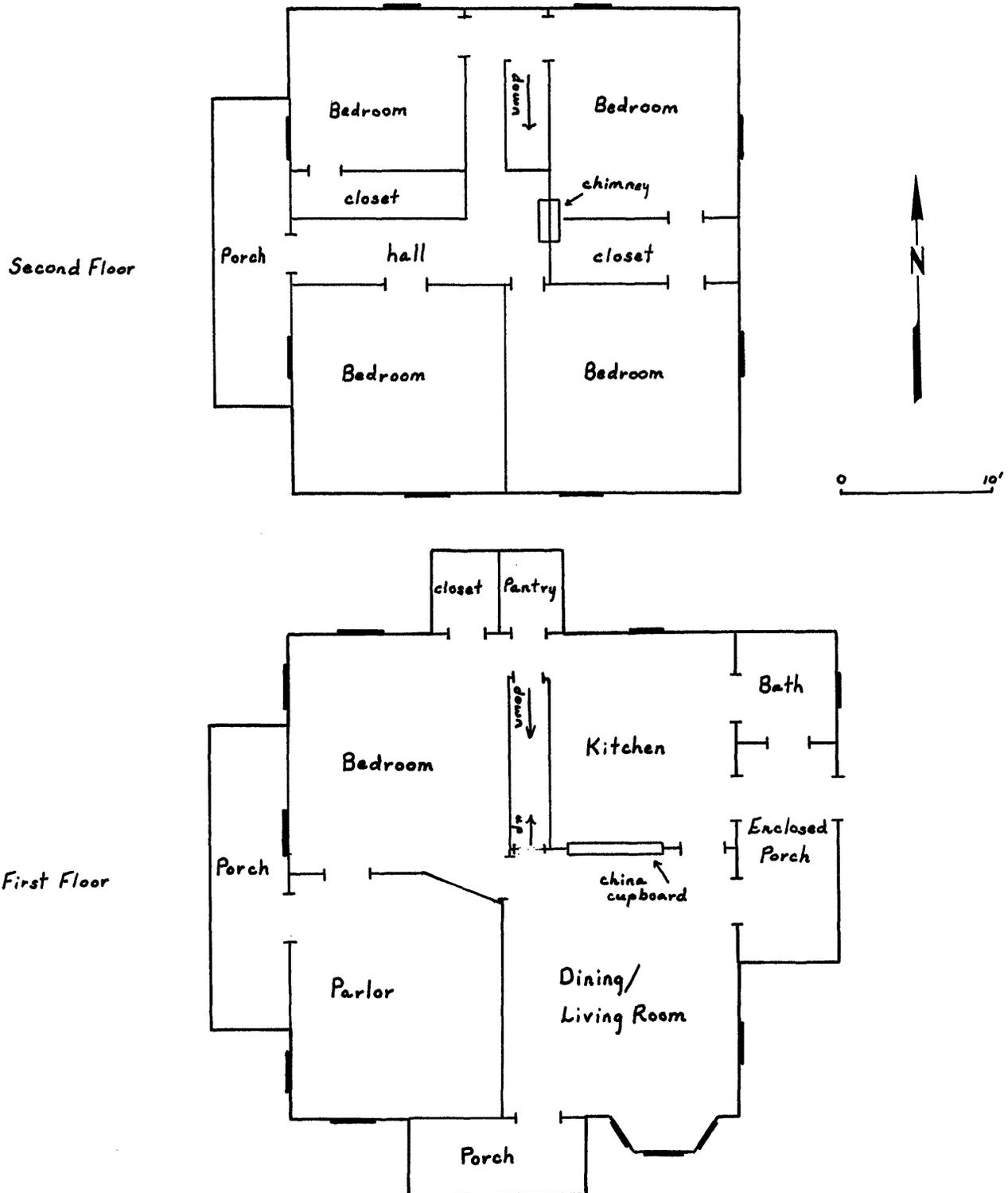


Figure E16. Floor Plan of A. M. Petersen House, Poplar Rural District, Shelby County, Four-Square House Type, One Oddly Angled Wall.

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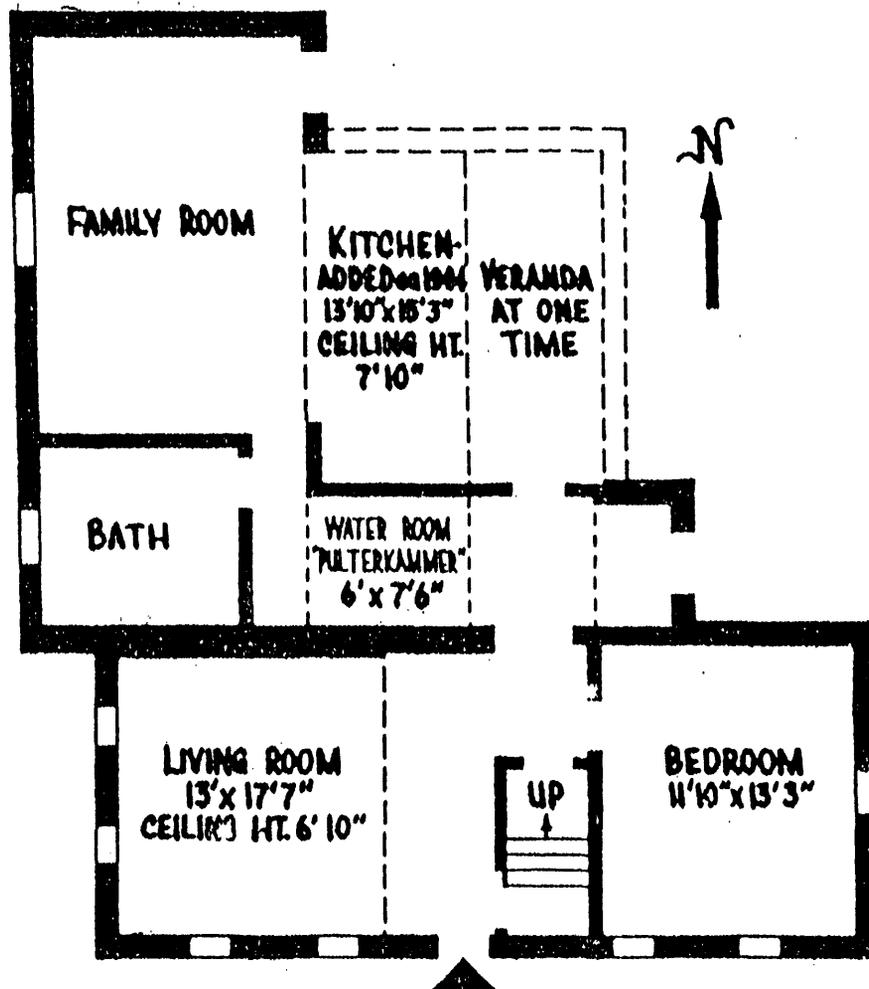


Figure E17. Floor Plan of Erik Simonsen House, Kimballton, Central-Passage House Type.
Source: Betsinger 1970:94

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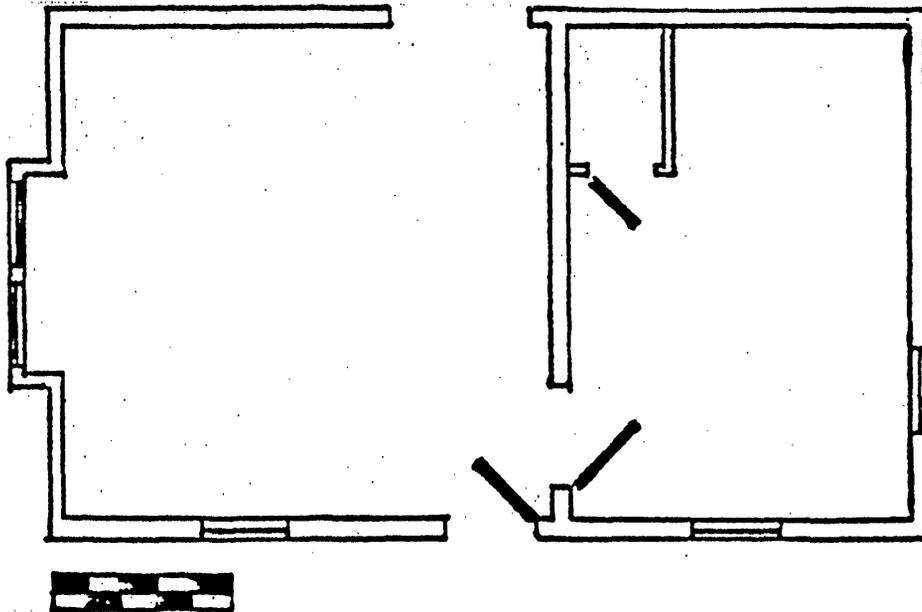


Figure E18. Floor Plan of Boose/Conklin House, Elk Horn, Hall-Parlor House Type.
Source: Carter 1987:2

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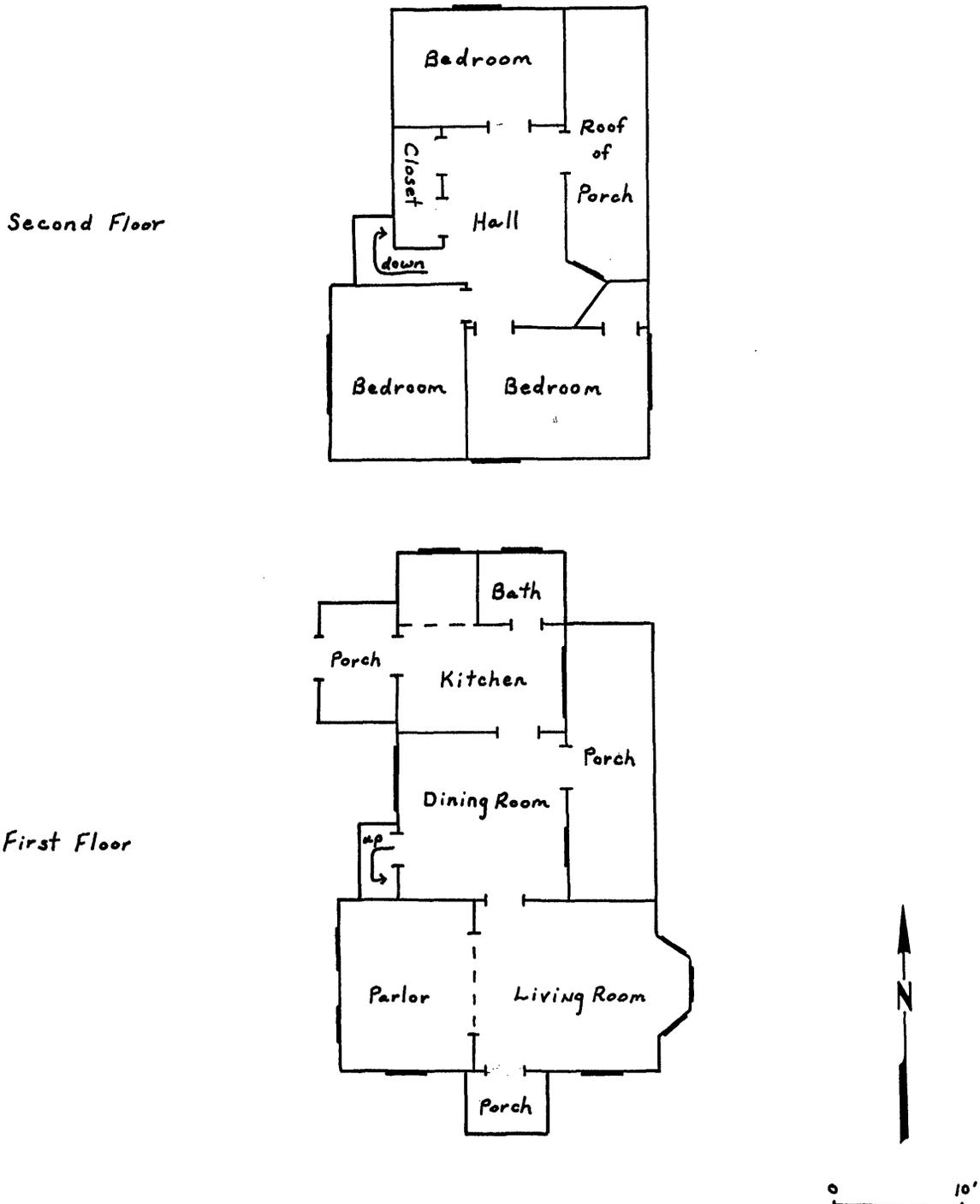


Figure E19. Floor Plan of Jens T. Larsen House, Kimballton, Gabled Ell House Type.

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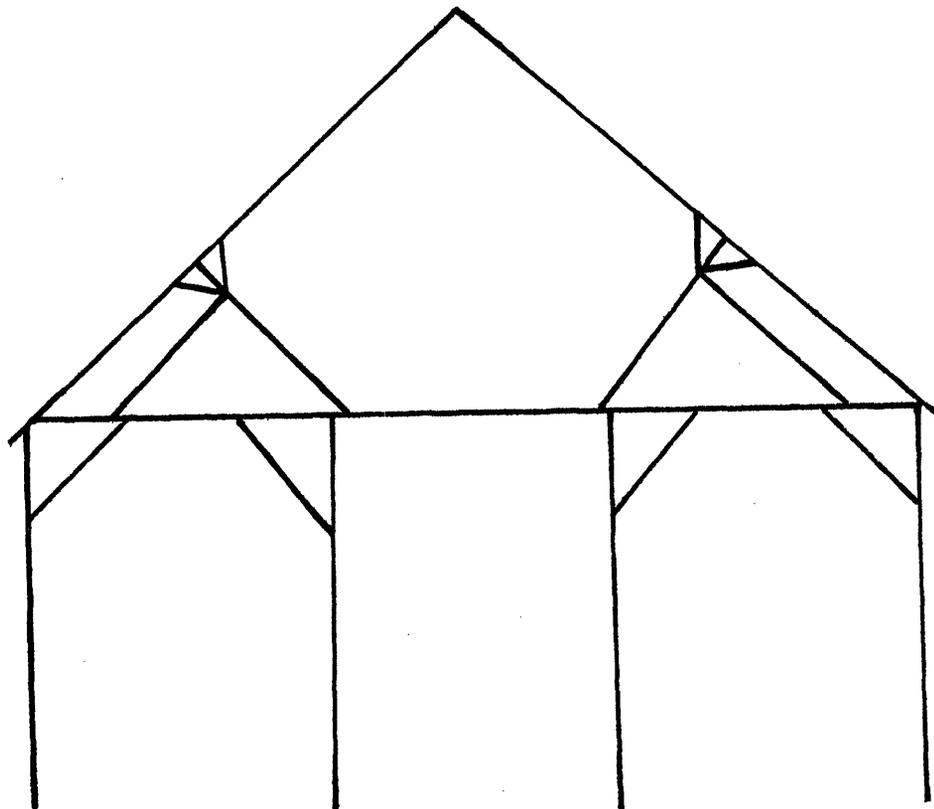


Figure E20. Cross-Section of Typical Bent System of a Transverse-Frame Barn Type, Jacksonville Variant.

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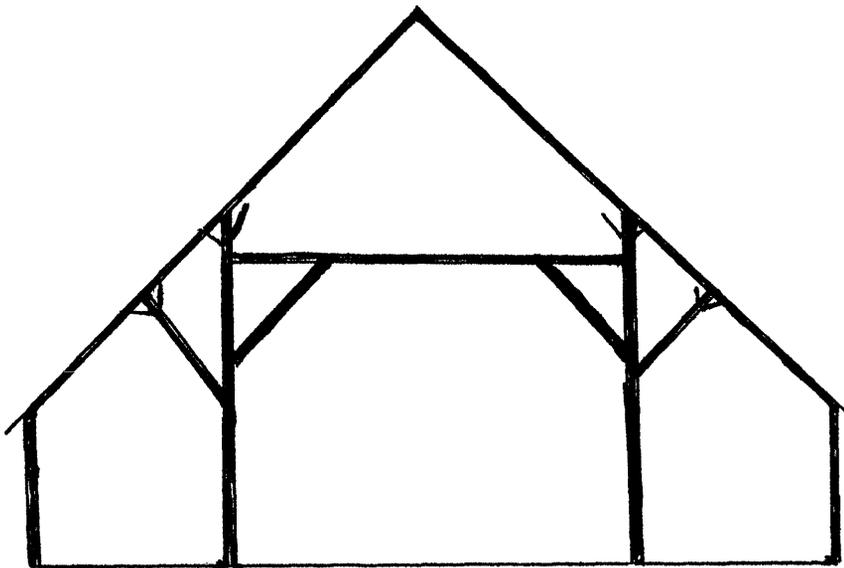


Figure E21. Cross-Section of Typical Bent System of a Euro-American Barn Type.

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GOOD STOCK SHED.

Arrangement Which Will Save Much Labor and Time.

It is a great saving of labor to have the hay and grain for feeding steers

Ground Plan.

stored at the point where it will be consumed. It is often a financial advantage to erect a shed in a pasture, even though good barns are available elsewhere. This shed will accommodate 25 to 30 head of steers. In the

End View.

center is the hay bay, which opens into the feed racks on all sides except to the northward, where the gable of the shed permits the hay to be put in easily.

A corn crib can also be added, suggests Farm and Home, and grain for

Quarters for the Steers—

the steers kept there. A shed of this sort should not cost more than \$300 at the present prices of lumber.

Figure E22. Barn Advertisement in 1908 Issue of the Audubon County Republican.

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Plate E1. Gabled Cottage House Type, Erik Simonsen House, Kimballton.



Plate E2. Gabled Ell House Type, Jens T. Larsen House, Kimballton.

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Plate E3. Gabled Ell House Type, Projecting Center Ell Variant, Hansen House, Elk Horn.



Plate E4. Gabled Ell House Type, Compound Wing Variant, Marcussen House, Sharon Township, Audubon County.

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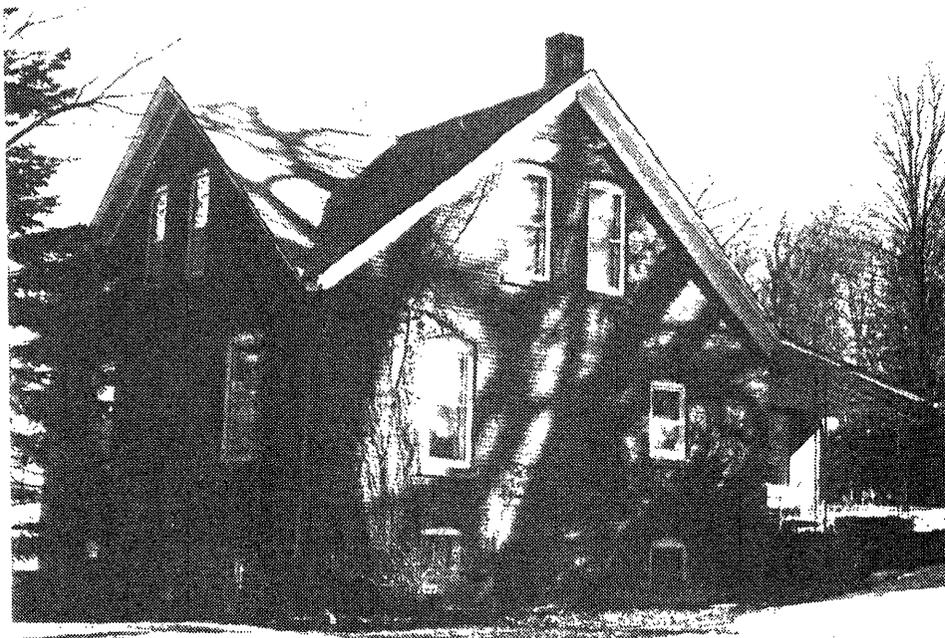


Plate E5. Gabled Double-Pile House Type, Brick, Hans Koch House, Kimballton.



Plate E6. Gabled Double-Pile House Type, Frame, Chris Larsen House, Elk Horn.

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Plate E7. Gabled Double-Pile House Type, Front Gabled Variant, Rasmus Petersen House, Kimballton.



Plate E8. Side-Passage House Type, Nels B. Andersen House, Elk Horn.

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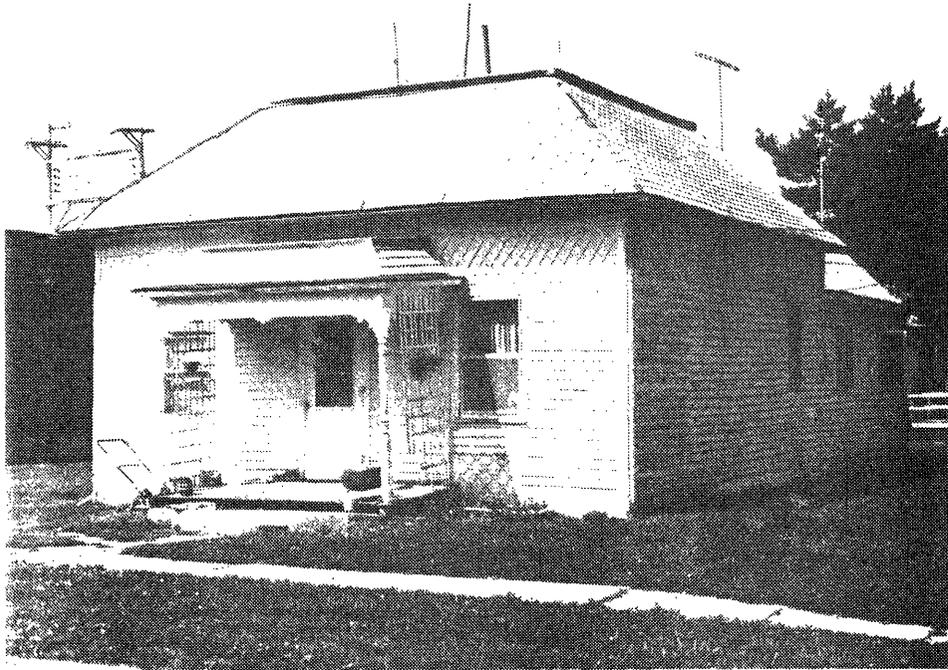


Plate E9. Hipped Cottage House Type in Exira.



Plate E10. Four-Square House Type, Gabled Wall Dormer Variant, Chris Poldberg House, Jackson Township, Shelby County.

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Plate E11. Four-Square House Type, Tower Variant, Nicholas Ohms House, Jackson Township, Shelby County (Historic Photograph).

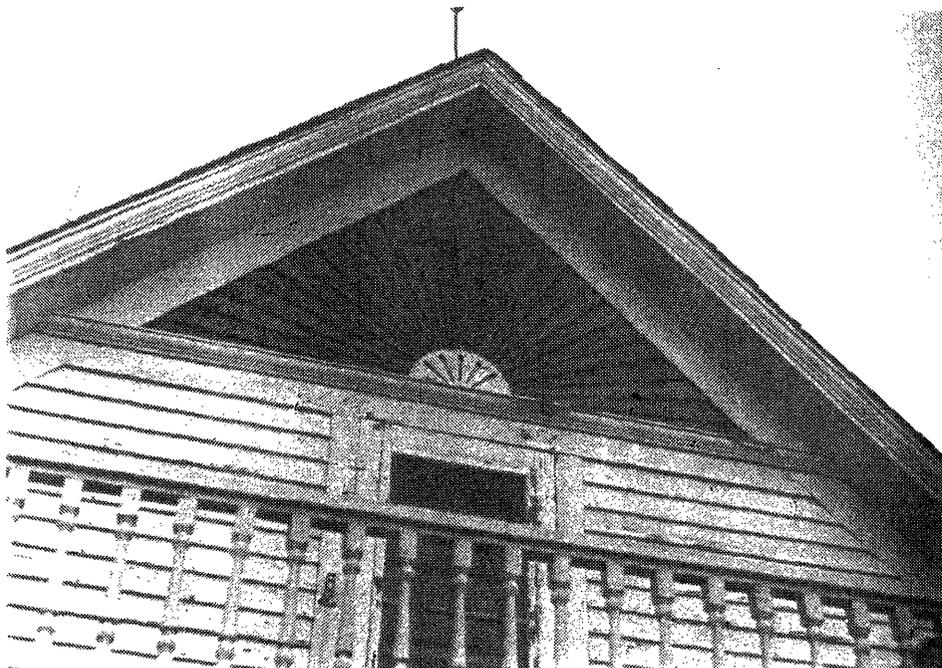


Plate E12. Detail of Decorative Sunburst, Martin P. Henricksen House, Poplar Rural District, Shelby County.

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Plate E13. Four-Square House Type, Two Story Porch Variant, A. M. Petersen House, Poplar Rural District, Shelby County.



Plate E14. Bungalow House Type in Elk Horn.

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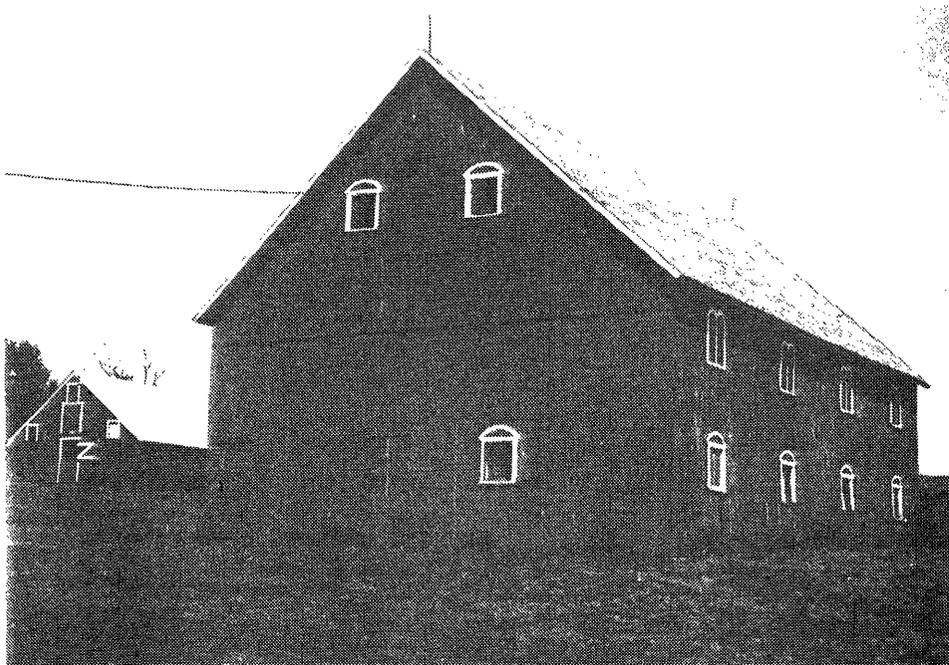


Plate E15. Transverse-Frame Barn Type, Svend Andersen Barn, Jackson Township, Shelby County.

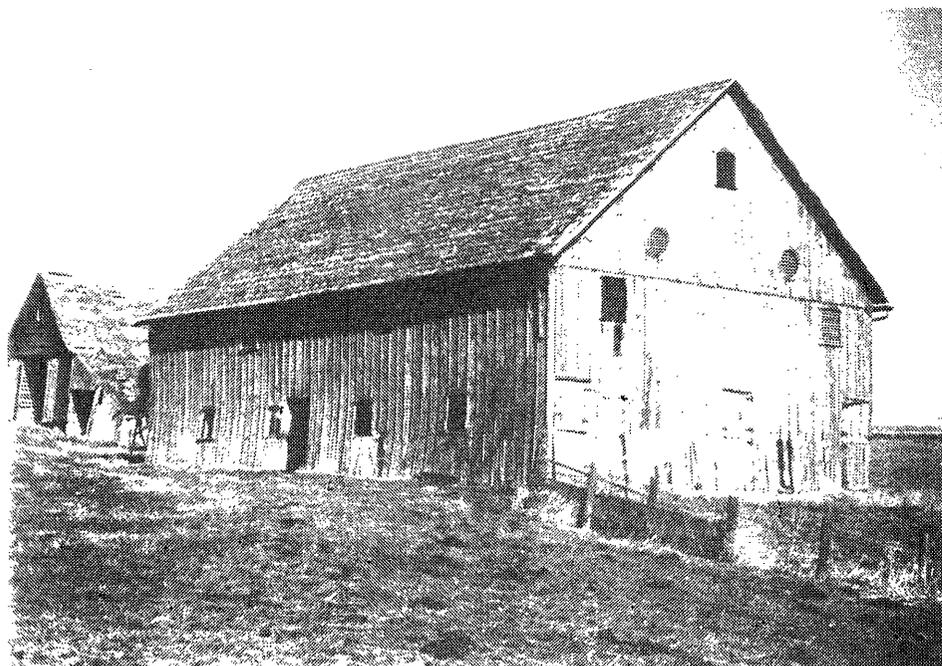


Plate E16. Transverse-Frame Barn Type, Jacksonville Variant, Anders Rasmussen Barn, Poplar Rural District, Shelby County.

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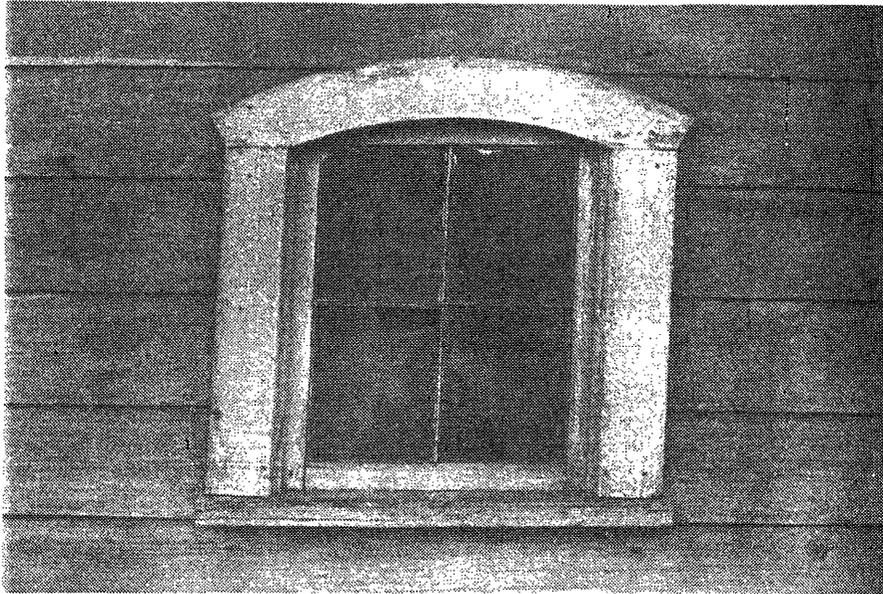


Plate E17. Detail of Jacksonville-Type Window, Clemmen Christoffersen Farmstead, Poplar Rural District, Shelby County.

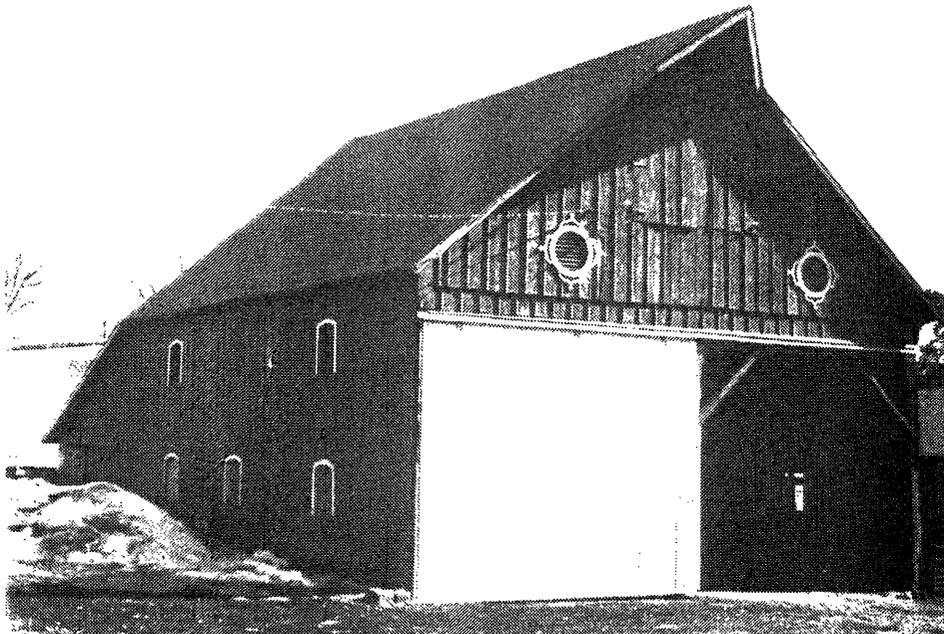


Plate E18. Decorative Louvered Windows (in Gable Peak), Clover Leaf Stock Farm, Poplar Rural District, Shelby County.

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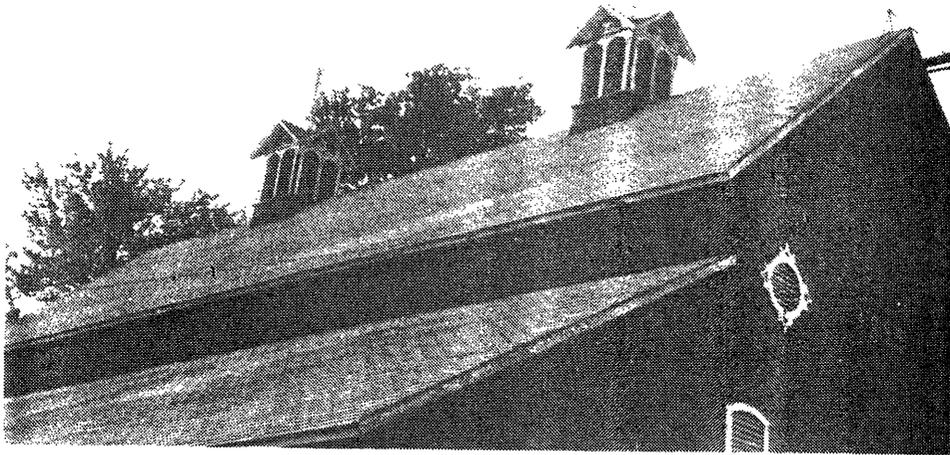


Plate E19. Detail of Cupolas, Jens Petersen Barn, Poplar Rural District, Shelby County.

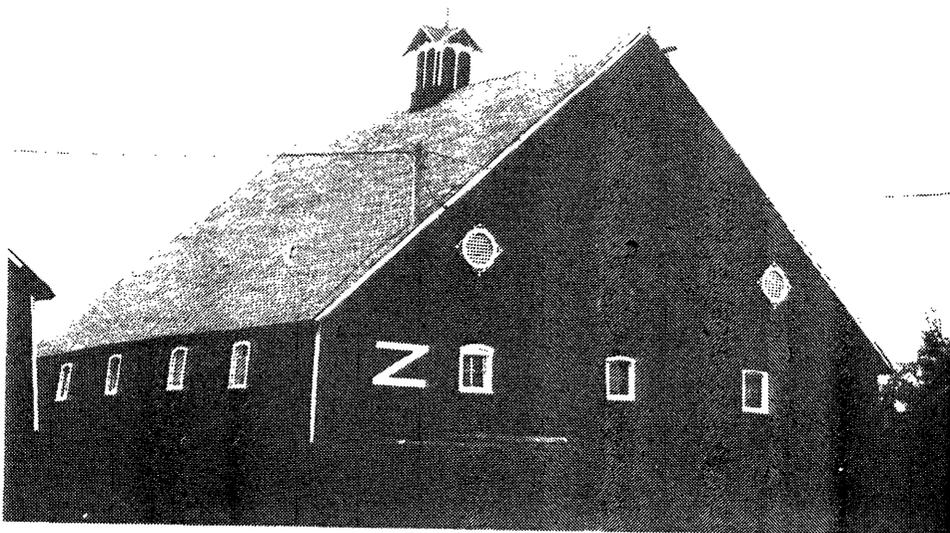


Plate E20. Midwest Three-Portal Barn Type, Steeple-Fitted Roof Variant, Chris Poldberg Barn, Jackson Township, Shelby County.

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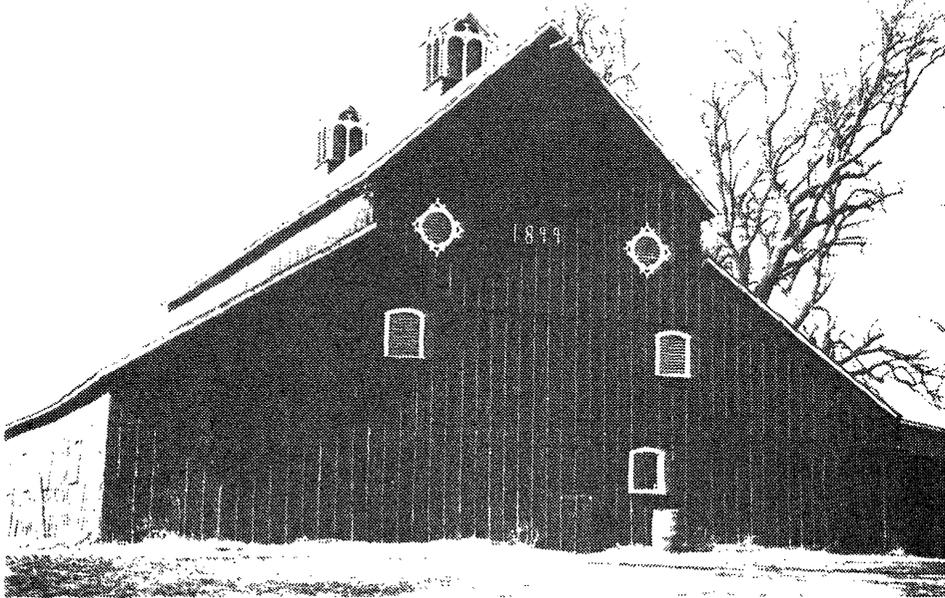


Plate E21. Midwest Three-Portal Barn Type, Monitor Roof Variant, Jens Petersen Barn, Poplar Rural District, Shelby County.

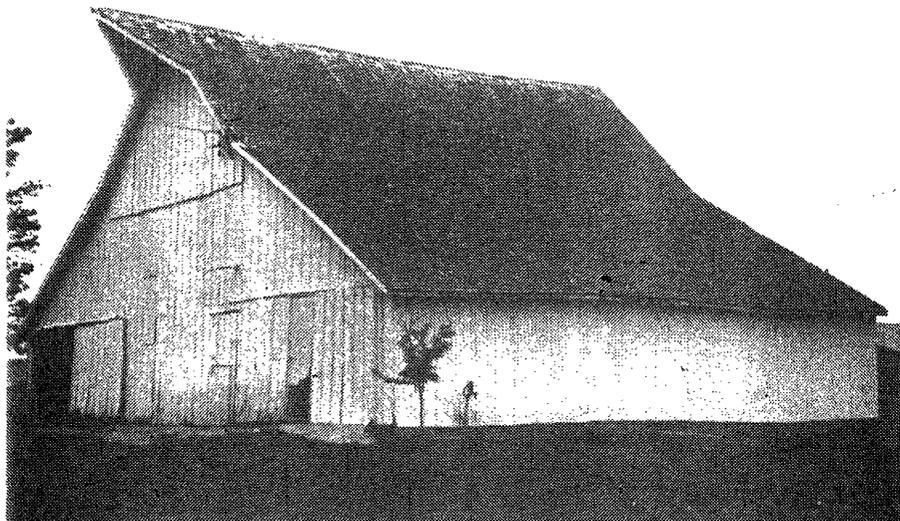


Plate E22. Euro-American Barn Type.

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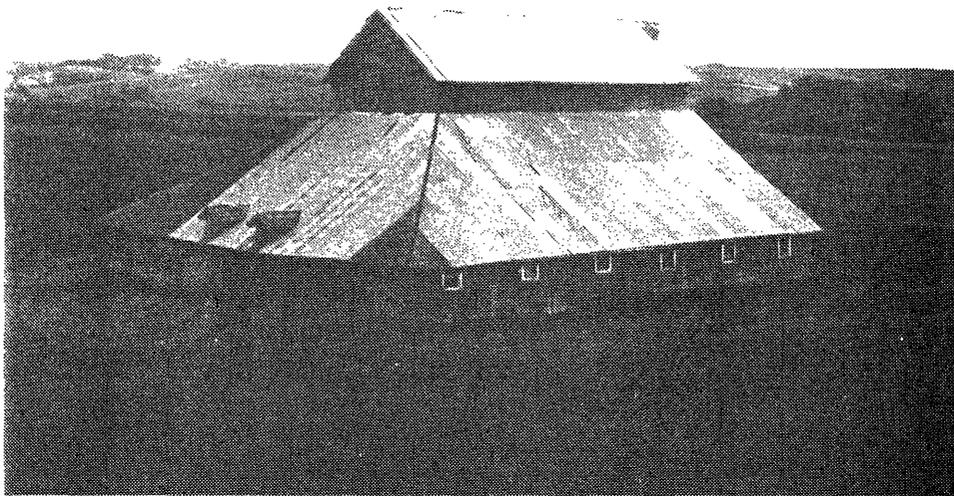


Plate E23. Euro-American Barn Type, Monitor Roof Variant, Edwin Larsen Barn, Oakfield Township, Audubon County.

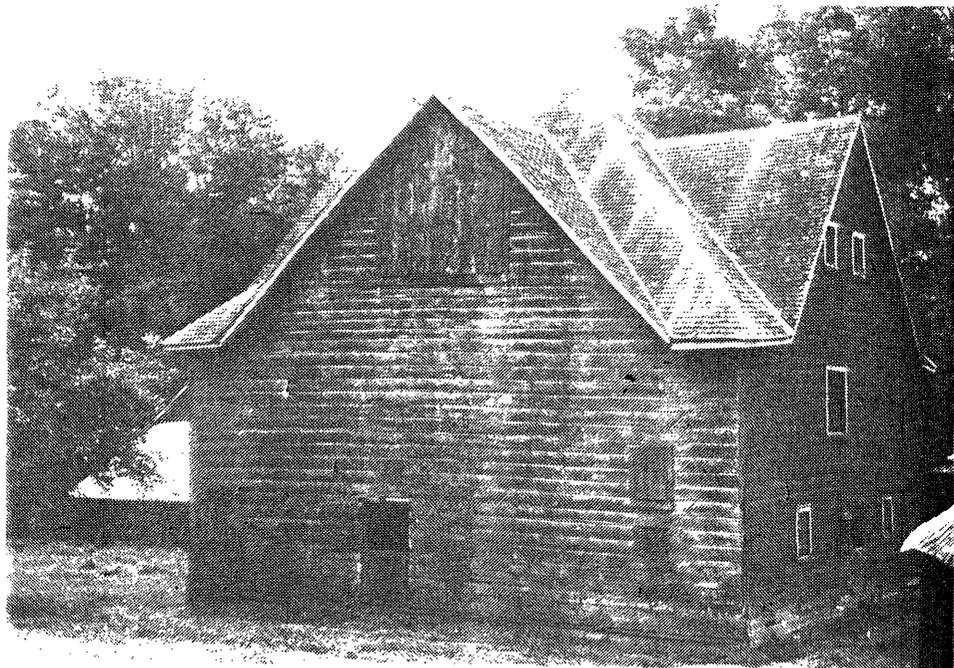


Plate E24. Square Hipped Roof Barn Type Pyramidal Hipped Variant, Hans J. Jorgensen Barn, Kumbailon.

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II. German Immigrant Settlement: 1872-1940s

The German immigrant settlement of Shelby County was directly tied to the Catholic Church, while German settlement in Audubon County was not so concentrated nor dominated by the Catholic Church. In that county, the largest German concentrations were in Lincoln Township in the northwest corner of the county and Audubon Township in the southeast corner. However, there was no strong German community base in either township. Both were rural farming settlements loosely anchored by rural German Lutheran churches. Therefore, because the ethnic identity concerning the German settlements of the two county area, both present and historically, is strongest in the settlements of northwest Shelby County, the present study will concentrate primarily on that region.

The German immigrant experience in the two county area is manifested and reflected in the persistence of their ethnic religious and social culture and their influence upon the region's agriculture and construction trades and industries, and in the building trends of the German immigrant settlement areas. Unlike the resources of the Danish settlement area, the present study found that the resources associated with German immigrant settlement represent only local remnants of that early settlement, the resource base having been adversely impacted by construction and destruction through the years. The beginning date of 1872 was selected for the period of significance of this context because that was the year when the German Catholic settlement of northwest Shelby County was established. The end date of the 1940s was selected because that decade represents the culmination of the revival of the German Catholic immigrant colony of Westphalia through Father Duren's "Complete Life Program."

a. Religious Culture

Two religions dominated the German settlements of the two county area, that of the Catholic and Lutheran churches. Of the two, the Catholic church had the greatest influence on the German immigrant settlement of the region.

German Catholics

John J. Louis (1903:16) in his sociological study of Shelby County noted that "the Germans unified most thoroughly in their religion," with "a common faith and a common nationality [providing] a strong unifying influence." It has been further noted that "nearly exclusive Catholic settlements...provided the communities with a strong basis for retaining their German culture and resisting assimilation into the broader affairs of the county," and that "over a century after these colonies were founded, the majority of inhabitants still rigidly follow the religious rituals that were introduced by the original German immigrants" (Nollen 1989:4-5).

Establishment and Settlement of the Westphalia Colony: 1872-1885. In 1872 Emil Flusche, recently emigrated from Westphalia, Germany, chanced upon an advertisement in a Catholic newspaper seeking settlers for a proposed township in Shelby County, Iowa. He went there with a vision to establish:

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a peaceful village in the center of a farming community, where Germans who loved to work the land could come. Here they would be self-sufficient and help one another. They would have their own church and priest for their spiritual needs and cultivate the faith for generations to follow (Hartman 1989:27).

Upon arriving in Shelby County, Emil met with A. H. Kettler, who had placed the advertisement. Kettler had a contract with John Drew, the land commissioner for the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railway Company, to colonize the territory on a land grant that had been obtained from the government to finance the building of the rail line. It had been further specified that this land should be set aside for German Catholics. The advertisement that Emil Flusche had seen was one of many placed by Kettler in German Catholic newspapers in both the United States and Germany. The land in question was predominantly prairie and encompassed an entire township, or 36 square miles. Because of Flusche's great interest in settling this area, Kettler soon contracted with him to carry on the colonization effort. Flusche had a talent for this type of work, and his efforts soon met with modest success, so much so that in 1873 John Drew, who had become dissatisfied with Kettler, discharged him and transferred sole agency of the colony land to Flusche. By continuing to advertise in the German Catholic newspapers and by writing to relatives and friends of the opportunities in the new settlement, Flusche managed to sell over 10,000 acres to actual settlers by 1875 (Louis 1903:6-7; Nollen 1989:28-36, 40; White 1915:121).

Among the first settlers were four of Emil's brothers, Wilhelm, Joseph, August, and Karl, and his mother and aunt. Karl Flusche was to serve as a pharmacist/physician for the colony, while Wilhelm would serve as postmaster. A fifth brother, Anton, would join the settlement in the late 1870s. Many of the other settlers were German Catholics from Wisconsin, while others came directly from Germany. Of the latter, many came from the provinces of Westphalia and Bavaria, while others came from Luxembourg, the Rhine provinces, and Austria. The combination of Westphalian and Bavarian immigrants in the new settlement produced some amount of competition and animosity. Early on there was a struggle between the two groups for control of the church which came to a head when Father Weber, the resident priest in the early to mid-1880s, left the parish for a year and, in his absence, the church was taken over by a Bavarian priest. Upon Father Weber's return a struggle ensued with the outcome being the appointment of Father Brommenschenkel from Riverside, Iowa, who would favor neither group over the other. An interesting aside is that the Westphalians came to be referred to as "Bullheads," while the Bavarians were "Smoothies" (Louis 1903:6-7; Nollen 1989:28-36, 40; White 1915:121; Zimmerman, personal communication 1990).

Emil Flusche platted the town of Westphalia in the center of the township. At this location a school was erected that for a time also served as a church. Thirteen acres were set aside for a church with an additional five acres for a cemetery, both of which were platted at the north edge of the town. This position was also the highest topographical point overlooking the town itself, thus serving as a prominent and dominant focal point. In addition to acting as land agent and town planner, Emil Flusche also served as notary public, justice of the peace, and worked closely with the church to secure clergy to attend to the spiritual needs of the settlers. In 1875 the community received its first resident pastor, with the church called Saint Boniface after the apostle of

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Germany. By 1876 the Saint Boniface parish numbered over 100 German Catholic families (Louis 1903:37-39).

By 1879 the colony had grown and prospered. The Flusche brothers were encouraged by the progress but had also come to feel that their mission there was over and it was time to move on to another endeavor. Intrigued by advertisements for farmland in eastern Kansas, they sold their farmland and moved to Kansas. In 1880 they established a new Westphalia townsite in Kansas and, in subsequent years, would establish similar colonies in Texas. In total, the Flusche brothers would be instrumental in the founding of six German Catholic towns in addition to that of Westphalia, Iowa. Of the six brothers, only Karl remained in the Iowa colony. He died in 1896 and is buried in the Saint Boniface cemetery (Louis 1903:42-44, 88, 96).

Prior to leaving the Westphalia colony, Emil and his brothers were instrumental in soliciting funds for the construction of a new, more permanent church building. This church was constructed of locally manufactured brick, with the lumber and other building materials shipped by wagon from Avoca. Fridolin Herr, a prominent Dubuque, Iowa, architect drew up the design plans for the church and even marked out the foundation lines in Westphalia. Herr had been born in St. Gall, Switzerland, in 1834. Upon immigration he first settled in Illinois, and in 1865 relocated in Dubuque. He had studied architecture in Switzerland and was also skilled in stone cutting and masonry. From 1865-1887 he worked in Dubuque as an architect in his own firm, entering into a partnership with his son, Fridolin, Jr., after 1887. The firm had a widespread reputation in designing Catholic churches and Catholic institutional buildings. Other early examples of his church designs include the Corpus Christi Catholic Church in Fort Dodge built in 1882 and listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the Catholic church in Charles City, Iowa, built c. 1885, and the Catholic church in Sherrill's Mound, Iowa, built in 1885. The design of St. Boniface is very similar to that of the Corpus Christi church in Fort Dodge, although the detailing of the parapets and tower is somewhat more elaborate on the Fort Dodge church (Iowa Architects File n.d.; White 1915:117).

The construction of St. Boniface church began in 1881, and the building was dedicated the following year having cost an estimated \$17,000. The contracting firm of Cockerell and Hines in Harlan did the masonry work. The crucifixion group on the main altar and the original statues of the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph were imported from Munich, Bavaria, while the other statues were made in America (Dunbar and Company 1889:289; White 1915:117-118).

By 1885 the St. Boniface parish numbered over 300 families. The rapid influx of settlers in the early 1880s had necessitated obtaining land at ever greater distances from Westphalia in the adjoining townships of Union, Grove, Douglas, Washington, Cass, and Lincoln (Figure E23). This coupled with the platting of four new communities in northwest Shelby County along the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul railroad between 1881-1884, prompted the development of satellite parishes in these new communities to serve the expanding German Catholic settlement. Most of these parishes began as missions of the St. Boniface parish, and to a large extent, were built up by people who had originally belonged to the "Mother church." Ironically, because of their rail connections,

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these new parishes eventually had larger congregations than St. Boniface's parish (Zimmerman 1972:6-7).

During the 1870s-1880s Germans also settled in notable numbers in the east part of Shelby Township and in parts of Fairview, Monroe, and Greeley townships, although these settlements were strictly rural-based and not strongly tied to the Catholic church. Many of these settlers had migrated from the eastern Iowa counties of Scott and Clinton. In Audubon County, German immigrants settled primarily in Lincoln Township, with lesser settlement in Audubon, Douglas, Leroy, and Cameron townships. However, as noted previously, these settlements were predominantly served by the German Lutheran church (Andrews 1915:217-222; White 1915:125-126).

Catholic Mission Communities, 1885-1908. The four new towns platted along the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul railroad were named Defiance, Earling, Panama, and Portsmouth (Figure E23). Of these towns, Earling was the first to be platted along the rail line in 1881, with Portsmouth and Defiance both platted in 1882, and Panama finally platted in 1884. The ethnic background of the majority of settlers in Earling and Portsmouth was predominantly German at an early date, while the ethnic background of the settlers in Panama and Defiance was originally more mixed becoming increasingly German as time progressed. The majority of the German settlers in these communities were of the Catholic faith, although Earling was the only one among these towns to support only the Catholic church. Portsmouth also had Evangelical Lutheran, Methodist Episcopal, and RLDS congregations. Defiance supported German Evangelical Lutheran, German Methodist Episcopal, Christian, and United Brethren churches, and Panama had Methodist Episcopal and RLDS churches. However, as time progressed, the Catholic church became predominant in each of these communities (History Book Committee 1981, 1984, 1982a, 1982b; 1885 Iowa State Population Census; 1900 and 1910 U. S. Population Censuses). It has been noted that by 1900 "many of the Protestants moved away as the German Catholics moved into the area" (History Book Committee 1984); however, not all of the Catholics who settled in these mission communities were German, although the majority were of this ethnic group. Other immigrants attracted to these communities included Irish and Polish Catholics.

In 1885, a priest from Marengo, Iowa, was appointed to the Catholic missions of Earling, Portsmouth, and Panama. Portsmouth had previously been an outmission of Neola with a frame church located 1.5 miles east of the town. This church was situated in a small rural settlement referred to as the "Cologne" or "Koelnische Settlement" because these settlers had emigrated from that area of Germany. A church was built in 1881 under the direction of Father Weber of the St. Boniface parish. In 1886 the church was moved into Portsmouth, with Father Joseph Hummert as the first resident pastor. Father Hummert was instrumental in the construction of a Catholic church in Panama and a parochial school in Earling. He later moved to the Earling parish. The old frame church in Portsmouth was converted into a school and convent when a brick church, Saint Mary's, was built in 1892. That same year a new brick church, Saint Joseph's, was completed in Earling, with the building designed by architect Matthias Schnell of Rock Island, Illinois, and modeled after a church in Breda, Iowa. William Cockerell of Harlan was the masonry contractor. The first Catholic church in Defiance, Saint Peter's, was not constructed until c. 1900. St. Peter's was originally a mission of the Earling church beginning in 1891 and

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from 1905-1910 was a mission of the Harlan Catholic church, before the parish of St. Peter's was established in 1911. The Harlan Catholic church, St. Michael's, also originated as a mission church of St. Boniface. In Panama, the original frame church was not replaced by a brick edifice, Saint Mary's Church, until 1908. The establishment of more permanent, and more expensive, masonry church buildings in each of these mission communities often signified the ending of their "mission" status and the confirmation of their individual parishes. Each congregation has at one time supported parochial schools and convents within their respective communities (History Book Committee 1981b, 1982a, 1982b, 1984; White 1915:122, 403-406).

Peak and Decline of the Westphalia Colony: 1886-1926. It is ironic that the railroad which was responsible for the original German Catholic colony settlement at Westphalia, would also be responsible for its decline and near demise. When the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad bypassed Westphalia in 1882, the community was relegated to "an island town, restricted to a few square miles of space, with hardly any excuse for survival except its stubborn community spirit, based on the Catholic faith of the parish" (Zimmerman 1972:11). The livelihood of the community was then dealt a second near-fatal blow by the success of its own Catholic missions. The establishment of mission churches in 1885 in the new towns of Portsmouth, Panama, Earling, and Defiance and their subsequent development of Catholic community parishes resulted in a drastic reduction in the size of the original Westphalia parish, with the eventual result of its being the smallest congregation among the five. Therefore, after its initial boom in the 1870s-early 1880s, the town of Westphalia "settled back into pretty much of a retirement town for the area farmers for many decades" (Zimmerman 1972:7, 11, 42).

It has been theorized that because of the anti-German sentiment inspired by the United States' involvement in World War I, "Germans in all Iowa communities were equally subjected to coercion and harassment that led to a rapid deterioration of their ethnic practices and beliefs" (Nollen 1989:1). However, a recent study in Shelby County of the German experience during the war years has concluded that:

Shelby County's Germans did not undergo a rapid deterioration of their traditional ethnicity. While a certain degree of anti-German sentiment was expressed during the war, actual coercion occurred [only] in heterogeneous areas of the county in which Germans did not comprise a majority of the population (Nollen 1989:1-2).

Religion allowed the German communities to retain stronger ethnic ties which were further solidified by the use of their native language. Not all of the Germans living in the Shelby County German communities retained their native language, but a notable number did to varying degrees. The Defiance and Westphalia schools still included German language classes by the 1910s, while that at Portsmouth taught only English. Many individuals in all of the German communities still spoke and read German if only on certain occasions. German language newspapers subscribed to in these communities included those printed in Denison, Iowa, and Omaha, Nebraska, as well as the Ohio Wiesenfreund. By the outbreak of World War I, the German communities of Shelby County including Westphalia were experiencing "a gradual erosion of some means of maintaining their traditional ethnic lifestyles--the English language was gaining a more

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prominent position in educational curricula and, to a certain extent, in the home" (Nollen 1989:16). The continued use of the German language in these communities was dealt a serious blow from Governor William L. Harding's 1918 proclamation forbidding the use of foreign languages in public places in Iowa, the only governor in United States' history to make such a proclamation. There were some anti-German incidents in Shelby County during the war primarily against the use of the German language over the telephone and in public, but these were relatively minor incidents (Nollen 1989:16).

After World War I, "members of the German communities did become dispersed throughout a somewhat greater portion of the county...and some traditional German strongholds (east Washington and west Douglas townships) did acquire greater numbers of Irish and English landowners" (Nollen 1989:41), perhaps indicating greater assimilation for Germans who lived in the more heterogeneous areas of Washington, Lincoln, and Shelby townships. However, overall, the German community did retain some aspects of its traditional native culture including the Catholic religion, community celebrations, and limited use of the German language (Nollen 1989:41-50). This was particularly true of the Westphalia colony. While the town was in decline due primarily to its lack of rail connections and the gradual loss of population, it was the homogeneity of its German population and the cohesiveness of their native culture and religion that continued to breathe life into the community. Had the church not survived, Westphalia would have long since ceased to exist and, during the Great Depression, it would be the church that would revive the community.

Despite the community's decline, Father Brommenschenkel did manage to make improvements and additions to the church complex including a rectory built in 1888 and designed by the Omaha architectural firm of Creeglon and Berlinghof. This residence is two stories in height and irregular in ground plan. It has a truncated hipped roof to which a gable has since been added. The building is constructed of brick with a stone foundation. The exterior walls were stuccoed in 1919 when the church was similarly faced. Notable features of the exterior are the segmental arched hoodmolds over the windows.

Revival of the Westphalia Colony or Father Duren's "Complete Life Program": 1926-1940s. By 1926 the Westphalia colony was "threatening disintegration," and it was under these circumstances that a young priest by the name of Hubert Edward Duren took over the St. Boniface parish. When he arrived, the church property included the church itself, the rectory, a convent, a three-room frame schoolhouse, and a "weedy cemetery with the tombstones standing out of line" (Westphalia Community Club 1964). He promptly undertook a plan to save the community, his so-called "Complete Life Program" which coordinated religion, education, recreation, commerce, and credit. Father Duren's first concern was with education. With the help of donations from parishioners, friends, and "several good Catholic bankers," he set about to construct a new school building. This two story brick edifice was completed in 1927 and for years served as a parochial grade and high school and community hall. The school was designed by Matthew John Lahr of the architectural firm Lahr and Stangel of Omaha, Nebraska. Lahr had been born in Illinois in 1889 and was a registered Iowa architect from 1929-1958. Similar buildings that he designed included the Notre Dame Academy in Omaha and the gym, natatorium, office building, trade's building, and teachers' home at Father Flanagan's Boys Town in Omaha (Iowa Architects File n.d.). Notable features of the St. Boniface school building

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include the monumental central entry faced with stone and the use of multi-pane double-hung windows. The building has seen few modifications other than some reduced and infilled windows.

Following the completion of the school, Father Duren "summoned parish manpower to make a baseball diamond and organized potential athletes into teams" (Westphalia Community Club 1964), thus giving community pride and solidarity a spirited outlet and public forum. He also soon found that the local taverns "neutralized" his work in the pulpit and classroom, so in 1933 he bought the last remaining tavern in Westphalia, moved it onto parish grounds, and converted it into a community club house which boasted a soda fountain, lunch counter, and billiard tables. When the building was destroyed by fire in 1934, Father Duren and his parish work force built a new club house also designed by the Omaha architectural firm of Lahr and Stangel (Westphalia Community Club 1964). The club house was constructed of tile blocks with cement stucco. It is a rectangular building with a front gabled orientation. The facade features six stuccoed pilasters that rise above the roofline. The floor plan has four toilets at the rear, two of which are accessed only from the exterior. The only modifications to this building have included boarding over the windows and the addition of a projecting enclosed vestibule on the front facade. The club house was named St. Hubert's and provided "a comfortable place for whole families to meet and visit" (Westphalia Community Club 1964). Parish halls, club houses, and/or community halls were also established by the Catholic churches in Portsmouth, Earling, and Defiance (History Book Committee 1981b, 1982a, 1982b).

During the depression, Father Duren started a small lumbering business to get some of his parishioners back to work and to benefit the community as a whole. As a result of this effort, enough lumber was sold to retire the club house debt and construct a 500 seat grandstand for the ball field. In addition, the Westphalia homes and parish buildings were adequately heated during the terrible winter of 1936 (Westphalia Community Club 1964).

To further his "Complete Life Program," Father Duren formed a cooperative general store in 1937 to breathe life into the community's ailing commerce. This was followed by the establishment of the Community Credit Union in 1939. The formation of cooperative enterprises in Westphalia continued to be an important aspect of the community's business health in the following decades. In 1943 a cooperative service station was opened and was soon joined by a cooperative locker plant added to the general store (Westphalia Community Club 1964).

A brick convent was built in 1942 between the school and the church for the Sisters of St. Francis whose order had been teaching at Westphalia since 1886. Father Duren also designed and helped construct a shrine on church property. He was instrumental in the restoration of the church cemetery including the realignment of the gravestones and the removal of plot fence enclosures because he felt that everyone was equal and none should be set apart from others even in death. In addition, he encouraged church societies and 4-H club work, directed two bands, and started a number of traditions which fostered community solidarity. These included the feasts of the Most Holy Rosary, Corpus Christi, and the Rogation Days as well as a tradition of bringing the first fruits of the field to the church. A corn crib was built on the church property to hold these offerings. By 1946 the rebirth of Westphalia was virtually complete and was

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symbolized in the parish's ability to pay off its last mortgage (Westphalia Community Club 1964; Zimmerman, personal communication 1990).

Father Duren's activities branched out to include a role in the founding of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference and the promotion of soil conservation work. He continued to be the driving force behind the church and the community of Westphalia until his death in 1962. This remarkable man was not only a dynamic leader who very nearly single-handedly revived the town of Westphalia but was a man of many artistic talents including composing music and poetry, painting, and design (Westphalia Community Club 1964; Zimmerman 1972:13-15).

German Catholic Parochial Schools

The history of education related to the German settlements of the two county area was also predominated by the Catholic Church. The first parochial school was built in Westphalia in 1874 before there was even a permanent church building. A new frame school was built c. 1884 under the direction of Father Weber utilizing lumber from the first church building. By 1915 the school was taught for a period of ten months by the Sisters of St. Francis and had an attendance of approximately 100 students. The Sisters had been teaching the school at Westphalia since 1886. The frame school was replaced in 1927 with the present brick edifice under the direction of Father Duren and in keeping with the educational portion of his "Complete Life" program. Parochial schools associated with the German Catholic Church were also established in Panama, Earling, Portsmouth, and Defiance. The schools established in Earling and Portsmouth in 1887 were first housed in frame structures. The Earling school was replaced in 1912 with the present brick building, while the brick school in Portsmouth was built in 1911. The parochial school in Defiance was established in 1913, with a brick structure built in 1916-1917, while the parochial school in Panama was established in 1911, with a Catholic high school built in 1930. Sisters of the Benedictine Order taught at the Portsmouth, Defiance, and Panama parochial schools, while the Sisters of St. Francis taught at Earling (History Book Committee 1981b, 1982a, 1982b, 1984; Shelby County Historical Society 1976:61, 245, 252-253; White 1915:120-121).

Declining enrollments in later years necessitated the merging of school districts, and by the late 1960s, the Iowa state legislature had consolidated these districts within larger public school districts. As a result, the Catholic high schools of Shelby County were closed prompting the introduction of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (CCD) program which consisted of small groups of seven to nine high school students who met regularly with a moderator in area homes. It has been noted that "the abrupt change in religious education demanded patience, tolerance, understanding, and parental support" (Zimmerman 1972:29).

German Lutherans

While the Catholic church predominated the German settlement of the two county area, the German Lutheran Church was also of some influence in this settlement. As noted previously, the largest concentrated settlement of Germans in Audubon County was centered around the rural Trinity Lutheran Church in Lincoln Township (Figure E23). German immigrants had settled in this area in the 1870s and to a certain extent in the adjoining townships of Douglas, Leroy, and Cameron. The

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Evangelical Lutheran Church and a Catholic church both in the town of Audubon and a German Evangelical Church (Frienden's) in Ross also helped serve this population, although historically the Lutherans far outnumbered the Catholics in this area. The church in Ross was a mission of the Defiance German Evangelical Church. An additional German Lutheran Church (St. John's) situated in Grant Township in Guthrie County also served German Lutheran families in the adjacent township of Audubon in Audubon County. The Catholic church in Exira had both Germans and Irish among its congregation. Some of these churches, including St. John's in Guthrie County and Trinity Lutheran in Lincoln Township, also operated schools for their congregations teaching both German and English classes. German Lutheran churches also had served congregations at one time in Harlan and the town of Shelby in Shelby County. The German and Danish Lutheran churches in Shelby united into one congregation in 1925 (Andrews 1915; Book Committee 1978b; Dunbar and Company 1889:272, 668-674; Book Committee 1982; Starner 1970).

World War I and Governor Harding's proclamation effected the German Lutheran churches to varying degrees. The church in Shelby responded to local pressure to "express its patriotic duty" by changing its name from the "German Lutheran Church" to that of the "Evangelical Lutheran Church." The Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church in Audubon County responded only by alternating its services between English and German and did not discontinue the use of the German language in its services until the beginning of World War II (Nollen 1989:34-35; Book Committee 1981).

Typology

A total of 19 German immigrant religious buildings were recorded in the two county area by the ethnic survey. These included: four Catholic churches, four parochial schools, three rectories, three parish halls or club houses, one convent, one chapel, and three German Protestant churches. The latter included two Lutheran and one Methodist Episcopal church. The full range of potential property types associated with the manifestation of the Catholic churches in the German settlements of Shelby County during the 1872-1940s period of significance include the church itself, a rectory, a convent, a parochial school, a parish hall, chapels, shrines, and a cemetery. In Shelby County, the German Catholic church buildings are commonly sited within a specifically platted area owned by the Church and potentially containing all of the above-noted property types within its boundaries. In this configuration, the buildings and landscape features, such as the parish ball diamond in Westphalia, would comprise a bounded, definable Catholic Church district. The district could also potentially include the archaeological remains of former components within its boundaries, such as the first generation church. In Shelby County, these districts are further sited on the highest points of their respective communities, thus symbolizing the church's predominance in these communities.

However, because not all important German immigrant church resources are sited within definable district boundaries, individual buildings could qualify for nomination outside of a district classification. Examples would include the historic German Catholic church of a German immigrant community which is individually significant as the best representation of the Catholic church influence and predominance in that community but lacking the other components of the Catholic Church district.

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In Shelby County, masonry churches were preferred for the second generation Catholic churches during the period from 1881-1928. The original churches were small frame buildings, but all were replaced by large, elaborate masonry structures by the 1910s. These later churches are characterized primarily by front gabled, rectangular or cross-shaped plans, with a central, multi-story entry tower. These churches are architect-designed.

The German immigrant Protestant churches in the two county area were generally frame buildings that remained in use either as they were originally built or enlarged to accommodate growing congregations. In one instance, the original church was destroyed by tornado and was replaced by a new frame building rather than a masonry structure. The Protestant churches are characterized primarily by a front gabled, rectangular plan, with a central entry tower, although the placement and size of the towers do vary. The overall size of the church building is also variable from small to large. Generally, these buildings are designed and constructed by local builders. The German Protestant churches may have other buildings and features such as a parsonage and cemetery in association and in close proximity; however, there is not a common pattern to their location or siting as well defined as that of the Catholic Church districts in Shelby County. Therefore, Protestant immigrant churches would generally only achieve significance as an important individual building.

The German Catholic church district comprises the primary focal point, both physical and spiritual, for the German Catholic communities of Shelby County. In German Catholic-dominated communities, the Catholic Church district commands the highest visual point in the town serving as a beacon for the hinterland. Its placement also reflects the predominance of the church in the communities' social, political, educational, and cultural development. Because of this predominance and because the persistent German immigrant settlements of the two county area were those associated with the Catholic Church, districts and possibly key individual buildings of importance, are significant at the local level. In this case, the strong ethnic association and the role of the church in the persistence of this ethnic identity indicate that the religious buildings of the German Catholic immigrant settlements in the two county area are the most significant and best preserved representations of that settlement.

To a lesser extent, the Protestant churches of the two county area were also associated with German immigrant settlement. Generally, these churches will not be eligible for nomination unless they represent key buildings associated with a cohesive and persistent German Protestant settlement. None of the German Protestant churches in the two county area are so qualified.

Extant Examples. The following are the known extant examples of German religious buildings and Catholic Church districts in the two county area constructed during the 1872-1940s period of significance:

St. Boniface Catholic Church District, Westphalia, c. 1874-1941

St. Joseph's Catholic Church District, Earling, 1889-1912

St. Joseph's Community Hall, Earling, 1930

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St. Mary's Catholic Church, Panama, 1908
St. Mary's Catholic School, Panama, 1930
St. Peter's Catholic Church, Defiance, 1928
St. Peter's Community Hall, Defiance, 1935
St. Mary's Rectory, Portsmouth, 1890 (moved) and 1911
Trinity Lutheran Church, Lincoln Township, Audubon County, 1913
Methodist Episcopal Church, Defiance, 1892
German Lutheran Church, Shelby, 1883
Freunden's Lutheran Church, Ross, 1900 (moved)

Non-Extant Examples. The following is a non-extant example of the important religious buildings associated with German immigrant settlement in the two county area:

St. Mary's Catholic Church, Portsmouth, 1892-93

b. Social Culture

The social activities related to the German settlements of Shelby and Audubon counties are varied. As with education, the social history of these settlements was also predominated by the Catholic Church. This social history is expressed in organizations, athletics, bands, and festivals. Because secular fraternal organizations are discouraged by the Catholic Church, the Knights of Columbus was organized in Earling in 1914 to fulfill both social and church needs. Additionally, Catholic Church organizations such as the Holy Name Society for men and the Rosary Society for women were established in the German Catholic communities. There was a secular German society or verein organized in Shelby in 1881 known as the Helvetia Lodge. In addition, the German Lutheran Church in Shelby had an active "Frauverein," a women's church society (Nollen 1989:6-7, 30; Starner 1970; White 1915:406).

It appears that the Turnverein Society was not active in the German settlements of the two county area. This was a German gymnastics society which had been transplanted to the United States and was based on the belief that "physical training and exercise was an essential part of the educational system" (Anonymous 1961:50). Turner Halls were established in a number of German communities in the United States including one at Holstein, Iowa; however, there were none established in either Shelby or Audubon counties. Rather, the athletic needs of the German communities were expressed in the establishment of competitive community baseball teams. Baseball was very important to the social history of Portsmouth, Panama, Earling, Defiance, and Westphalia. All have active teams, and several constructed permanent ball parks to accommodate the competitions. In fact, the Westphalia ball diamond was recently featured in

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Smithsonian magazine and in a collection of photographs entitled Baseball in America (Doherty 1991:99; Louis 1903:21; Shelby County Historical Society 1976:61, 250, 261; Zimmerman 1972).

German cornet bands were also part of the social history of the area's German communities. Bands were organized in Earling and Portsmouth in the 1890s and continued to around World War I. Because of the anti-German sentiment fostered by that conflict, the "German" portion of the bands' names were dropped and the bands themselves were eventually discontinued (Nollen 1989:11; White 1915:448). It has been noted that "the popularity of these bands may suggest the degree to which German culture was valued and promoted in Shelby County before the events of the war began to take effect" (Nollen 1989:11).

German festivals were also integral to the area's social history. Weddings in particular have always occasioned large celebrations in the German communities inexorably tied as well to the traditions of the Catholic Church. Community picnics with beer gardens were also regular events. The Gesundheit, or "Good Health" festival was recently revived in Westphalia after having been discontinued during World War II. This festival had been a long-standing annual event which consisted of music, traditional dances, beer-drinking, and German food, but during the war, it was felt that changing the festivities to a Fourth of July celebration would be more patriotic thus placing less emphasis on ethnicity. The shooting contests sometimes held in conjunction with community celebrations and the gun club established in Portsmouth in the 1950s appear to be the only local vestige of the traditional German shooting vereins (Louis 1903:35; Nollen 1989:48-49).

Typology

The properties potentially associated with German social culture are less tangible as physical entities than other aspects of the manifestation of German ethnicity in the two county area. The primary property type associated with this context would be social halls, particularly those of the Turnverein Society. There are no known extant examples of German social halls in the two county area. The only known non-extant example is potentially the Helvetia Lodge hall in the town of Shelby. Because so little is known of the physical manifestation of this context in the two county area, a typology and significance considerations cannot be constructed. It is anticipated that significant buildings associated with this context do exist in association with German immigrant settlements in the state of Iowa, but it remains for future investigations in other areas where Germans constituted a greater presence to enlarge upon this context.

c. Farming Industry

The occupation most common among German immigrants in general was farming. By 1920, 32,221 foreign-born Iowans owned or managed farms, or were tenant farmers. Of this total, more than half were German immigrants with over 2.5 million acres under cultivation (Calkin 1962:157). This trend was true of the German settlements of Shelby and Audubon counties as well. The idea behind the founding of a German Catholic settlement in Westphalia Township was not for the eventual development of an urban community, but rather it was intended to be a community anchored by the church to serve a rural farming hinterland. The

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German settlements of Audubon County were also primarily rural in their orientation, with predominantly rural churches serving their religious needs.

It has been noted that by the 1890s the German farmers of Westphalia Township were "well-to-do" and made their money "principally from corn and livestock" (Dunbar and Company 1889:289). Furthermore:

the vocation of farming attracted many Germans to Shelby County and remained the major occupation of the majority of immigrants and their families....many German farmers had achieved a certain measure of success by the time World War I began. Some German men, by engaging in a "thrifty" lifestyle and aided by equally hard-working wives, gained enough wealth to begin buying and selling farm plots (Nollen 1989:5).

This success is evidenced in the German settlement areas of Shelby and Audubon counties by the number of modernized and improved farms still owned by German immigrant descendants. Unfortunately, this measure of success has also meant a substantial loss of historic integrity and, in many cases, complete loss of historic buildings dating from the early agricultural development of the German settlements.

Yette Mackintosh (1990) in the recent study of Danish farming practices in the two county area, also examined patterning in Westphalia Township in Shelby County, where even by 1920 Germans comprised 75% of the population. This study noted that the German farmers of this township, like the Danes, showed a "very strong ethnic tradition for farm ownership" (Ibid.:67). Comparisons of livestock production, however, found that Westphalia Township had an average livestock production value which is somewhat higher than the state average, but below the average for the Danish settlement area. It was also found that dairy farming was not as important to the farming industry of Westphalia Township, with the township having the "second lowest percentage of milk cows in the entire two county area" (Ibid.:75). Further, the German farmers ranked "third lowest with regard to the average number of bushels produced per acre, so the high intensity with which cereal crops are produced can apparently be linked to the specifically Danish ethnic composition of the populations" (Ibid.:76). It remains for more intensive study of the German immigrant farming industry of the two county area, before more specific conclusions can be drawn concerning the nature and historical development of this industry.

Typology

A concerted effort was made by the ethnic survey to record German immigrant farmsteads and farm buildings. Westphalia Township was selected for the focus of this survey, although efforts were not limited exclusively to that area. Survey efforts included windshield survey "drive-bys" to locate potential properties for reconnaissance level recording and visits arranged by local contacts. The results of this survey were that few buildings and farmsteads remain in this area of sufficient integrity or individual significance for nomination to the National Register. In essence what was found was that the general prosperity of German immigrant agriculture in the region has resulted in the loss and extensive modification of a substantial number of the historic residential and agricultural buildings associated with this context. Only five

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German immigrant farmsteads or portions thereof were recorded by this survey. The low number that could be recorded precluded the definition of property types. It is anticipated that future investigations in other areas of concentrated German rural settlement will enlarge upon this context and provide the data base from which a typology can be constructed and evaluations of significance can be made.

d. Construction Trades and Industries

The German immigrant experience in Shelby and Audubon counties is further reflected in their involvement in, and influence upon, the construction trades and industries of the region. If German ethnicity is reflected in the area's architecture, it would be through the influence of the local German carpenters, masons, and contractors. The predominant local German construction trades included brickyards, lumberyards, carpentry, and masonry.

Brickyards

Among early brick manufacturing enterprises in the German settlement area of Shelby County was that in Westphalia for the construction of St. Boniface church in 1881-1882. These bricks were manufactured from clay mined at the Martin Zimmerman farm on the south edge of the town and processed in a kiln situated north of the church. From available data, it appears that this local brick manufactory was solely for the construction of the church and was discontinued after its completion (White 1915:117; Zimmerman 1972).

Local brickyards also functioned at an early date supplying building materials for new homes and businesses in Earling, Portsmouth, Defiance, and Panama. The manufactory at Portsmouth made both brick and concrete blocks and supplied the brick for the construction of the town's Catholic Church in 1892. The brickyard in Defiance provided the brick for local residential structures, most notably the McGuire house, although its ethnic affiliation is uncertain from available data. Bricks were being fired near Earling as early as 1884, but by a non-German settler. This kiln was located southwest of town at the present Richard M. Wilwerding house. Panama had at least two known brickyards in operation in its early history. The first yard, dating from 1883, utilized clay extracted at the south edge of the town on a farm now owned by Edward Kwapiszeski. The second brickyard was established within the town limits in 1886 and was operated by L. W. Lantz. Brick manufactured at this yard was used in the construction of the bank and several homes in Panama, most notably the Buckley house (History Book Committee 1981a, 1982a, 1984; Shelby County Historical Society 1976:58).

Most importantly, in Audubon County, the first brickyard in the town of Audubon was established in 1882 by German immigrant, Charles L. Tramp, who had learned the trade in Germany. The Audubon brickyard was later operated by his son, Louis E. Tramp, who had been born in Illinois. By 1909 this industry had four kilns, each with an operating capacity of 50,000 bricks and an annual output of 1.5 million bricks. The products were shipped all over Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, and other neighboring states. In addition to brick, the products of this yard included drain tile and tile blocks. Most of the brick commercial buildings in Audubon were constructed with the products from this brickyard (Andrews 1915:531-535).

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Perhaps a more definitive German immigrant influence is found in the lumber industries of the German settlement area of northwest Shelby County. In particular, the yards at Earling and Defiance were of local importance and influence. The premier lumberyard in Earling was that of the J. C. Heese Lumber Company, with that in Defiance known as the Defiance Lumber Company. John Carl Heese immigrated to Westphalia Township in 1876 having been born in Prussia in 1858. He had apprenticed in the carpentry trade in Germany and started to work in this trade in the United States in 1881. He first formed a partnership with Frank Heese in 1886 called Heese and Heese and dealing in building materials and coal. In 1889 Frank left for Texas, while J. C. continued in the business as sole proprietor, although he was later joined in the business by his sons, Joseph and Albert. J. C. Heese not only operated one of the more successful businesses in town, he was also a community influential serving as Vice-President of the German Savings Bank and helping to build the first Catholic church (a two story frame structure). In fact, the 1915 county history described Heese as "one of the leading German residents of this county...a prosperous lumber and coal dealer" (White 1915:193, 263,264, 403).

When J. C. Heese died in 1921, Albert Heese took over as manager and in 1937 assumed ownership. His brother, Marcus, worked with the firm until 1957. His son Bert had joined the firm in 1952, and he assumed ownership upon Albert's death in 1967. Bert Heese continues to operate the lumberyard to the present day making it among the few "Century Businesses" in the county. This lumberyard includes the original lumber shed and office built in 1886 and the coal elevator built in 1921. The original office building was moved when the present tile block office building was constructed in 1949. The building materials and plans for many of the homes and businesses in the Earling area came from the Heese lumberyard. This includes the Heese home in Earling which was built in 1907 by J. C. Heese and currently occupied by the Bert Heese family. This house is similar in design to at least three others in the area, a design which appears unique to the Earling vicinity (History Book Committee 1981b; Shelby County Historical Society 1976:264).

The 1905-1912 receipt book for the J. C. Heese Lumber Company indicates that the lumber was received from the states of Washington, Minnesota, and Arkansas, among others. Coal was obtained from the Brown Coal Company in Sioux City, while brick and tile was ordered from the Brick and Tile Works in Carlisle, Iowa, the Boone Brick and Tile Works, and from the Sioux City Brickyard. Another interesting note was for an order of cement blocks from the "German-American Portland Cement Works" in Chicago. By the 1910s, millwork such as gable brackets were being ordered from Omaha and the Curtis Millwork company in Clinton, Iowa. The receipt book also indicates that a number of houses were being built in Earling during this period, with the materials and plans coming from the Heese Lumber Company. Both the Reverend Hummert of the Earling Catholic church and the Reverend Brommenschenkel of Westphalia had active accounts with this lumberyard.

The Defiance Lumber Company was also important to the development of that community. The company was formed in the 1880s and was for a time in competition with the Green Bay Lumber Company, although the latter was out of

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business by the early 1900s. By 1900, J. F. Loudenslager was the owner of the Defiance Lumber Company which after that time was the only lumberyard serving the Defiance community. George Rewerts came to Defiance in 1887 and began working as a carpenter for this lumberyard. In the late 1880s-1890s he built a number of buildings in Defiance including barns in the rural areas. Rewerts had been born in Rysum, Ostfriesland, Germany in 1867 and immigrated to the Council Bluffs area in 1882 before moving to Defiance. In 1902 Rewerts and Loudenslager constructed the Downing Hotel, a three story brick building with a mansard roof, that was the largest commercial building ever built in the town of Defiance. Later that same year, Rewerts purchased the Defiance Lumber Company from Loudenslager (History Book Committee 1982a; 1910 U. S. Population Census). The local newspaper noted in 1902 that:

We hope to see a building boom here this summer. The town ought to forge ahead now that it is being so liberally patronized by so large a territory and drawing new trade steadily (Defiance Enterprise May 22, 1902).

Building did increase in the town of Defiance, and the lumber company was successful in meeting this demand. Available receipt, accounts, bill, and day books from the Defiance Lumber Company during the period 1900-1910 indicated that lumber was ordered from Wisconsin, Arkansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Washington, and Michigan, among others. Brick was ordered from the Sioux City Brick and Tile Company, while stone rubble came from the quarries at Stone City, Iowa. Coal was obtained from various mines in Iowa and Illinois. Sashes, doors, blinds, and moldings were ordered from Chicago and Rock Island, Illinois; Omaha, Nebraska; and Muscatine and Clinton, Iowa. Turned spindles, gable ornaments, brackets, spandrels, newels, columns, and other "house trimmings" were ordered from Harris and Cole Brothers of Cedar Falls, Iowa and the Adams and Kelly Company in Omaha, Nebraska as early as 1902. These books also indicate that while the Heese Lumber Company in Earling would, to a certain extent, have been a competitor of the Defiance Lumber Company, Heese and Rewerts did cooperate with one another in the supply of materials when one had an item that the other needed. The Defiance Lumber Company also made full use of advertising, running ads in the local newspaper on a regular basis and tailored for the demands of the seasons, such as advertising screen doors in the summer, coal in the winter, and building materials in the spring. Another ad read, "plans and specs. furnished, contracts taken, and buildings furnished complete" (Defiance Enterprise April 1902).

The lumber company was later taken over by Rewerts' son, Reinhardt, who was born in Defiance in 1902, and the business remains under the operation of the Rewerts family to the present day. George Rewerts was also a community influential serving as a town councilman for 30 years, mayor for eight years, and township clerk for 46 years. George Rewerts died in 1947 at the age of 80 (Shelby County Historical Society 1976:677; White 1915:263-264).

Rewerts "assisted in building many homes in the Defiance area including a beautiful large home of his own, which still stands in the town of Defiance" (Shelby County Historical Society 1976:677). This house was designed and constructed by Rewerts, with the help of local carpenters Nels Gregersen and Lee Hulsebus. Gregersen was a Danish immigrant, while Hulsebus had been born in

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Illinois to German parents (1910 U. S. Population Census). The house is a two story building with a hipped roof and gabled eaves. The ground plan is irregular. Architecturally, the house is influenced by late Victorian styling and features decorative shingle siding, sunbursts, pent gables, Queen Anne windows, and turned spindleposts on the open front porch. The house has seen few modifications through the years. It is the best known and best preserved example of Rewerts' design and carpentry skills, with the materials ordered through the Defiance Lumber Company.

Carpentry

Aside from J. C. Heese and George Rewerts, the next best documented German immigrant carpenters in Shelby and Audubon counties are those in Portsmouth. It has been noted of these carpenters that "some of the first buildings and houses still stand sturdy today, a tribute to their skill and craftsmanship" (History Book Committee 1982b:29). Among the first carpenters in Portsmouth were Simon Bendon and Albertus and Walters. They were followed by J. W. Gau, Frank Dessmann, Arnold Ebert, John Pfeifer, Roy Spicklemier, M. A. Ohlinger, Joe Schumacher, Matt Olig, Chrysant Gau, A. P. Gau, Chris Gau, Mike Schmidt, Dick Gau, Bert Leinen, Leo Ohlinger, Tom Grote, Louis Leinen, William Thomas (German descent) and Lawrence Weihs. However, it is known that these carpenters often worked with Portsmouth carpenters who represented other ethnic groups. Among these were Mike Gallagher (Irish descent), Bill Brightman, Henry Baxter, John Walsh (Irish descent), Joseph Clark, Kearney Elder, Charles Hays, and Darwin Potter. For example, the Joe Ohlinger house was constructed in 1917 by John Pfeifer along with Mike Gallagher and Bill Brightman (History Book Committee 1982b:29-30; 1910 U. S. Population Census).

Early German carpenters in Panama included John Lyneborg, Dohrman, Peter and Henry Greiner, Peter Gau, Matt Olig, Joseph Mahlberg (German descent), Henry Eberts, and Joe Oppold; however, the ethnic background of all of the carpenters and builders working together in Panama were a mixed lot, even more so than in Portsmouth (History Book Committee 1984; White 1915:260). This makes it particularly difficult to discern an overriding ethnic influence in the buildings unless the persons having the greatest influence on design and architecture in the community can be identified.

Early German carpenters in Earling included August Bieker, Henry V. Bicker, and William Book, in addition to J. C. Heese. Later German immigrant carpenters in Earling included Casper Stinn and John Koesters. German immigrant, F. Heese was a carpenter in Westphalia c. 1889, with Albert Magnus working in that area by 1910. Carpenters in addition to George Rewerts in Defiance included Lee F. Hulsebus, who was of German descent but also included Nels G. Gregersen and Niels Jensen, who were Danish immigrants. These three were all working as carpenters in Defiance c. 1910 (Dunbar and Company 1889:287; 1910 U. S. Population Census; White 1915:261, 263-264).

However, the depth of research concerning the individual carpenters in each community has not yet reached a level where buildings can be identified with the specific builders beyond the examples noted above. In comparison with the history of Danish immigrant carpenters in the Shelby/Audubon area, there is little data to identify the training background of the German immigrant carpenters in this same area. Where it is known that the majority of Danish

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immigrant carpenters had received their initial training in Denmark, the only known example of this among the German immigrant carpenters is J. C. Heese, who was apprenticed as a carpenter in Germany before immigrating to Shelby County.

Masonry

The German masons of the region are even less well documented than the carpenters but there are a few of note. These include Frank Schmidt and Fred Michels in Portsmouth and George Arkfeld and Gus Hastert of Panama (History Book Committee 1984, 1982b:30; White 1915:258). As with the carpenters, it will require more in-depth research to determine which buildings are associated with these masons. The fact that all of the German communities in Shelby County had brickyards at an early date would indicate that the demand certainly existed for skilled masons. However, this demand also attracted masons from other groups, such as William Merriman, who was of Scottish descent and worked as a mason in Portsmouth c. 1910, and George Davis, who was Iowa-born and worked in Defiance in the early 1900s (1900 and 1910 U. S. Population Census).

Typology

The only property types which can be identified from the present, small sample population recorded concerning German immigrant construction trades and industries are the lumber sheds, offices, storage sheds, and coal elevators of the lumberyards and the buildings constructed by prominent German immigrant carpenters. The recorded sample population consists of two lumber sheds, one lumber office, one coal elevator, and two houses associated with J. C. Heese and George Rewerts, for a total of six buildings and structures. The potential significance of these properties lies in their association with the German immigrant lumber industries of Earling and Defiance as operated by the two above-noted individuals. These properties are potentially significant only at the local level and as important remnants of German immigrant settlement of the two county area. It is anticipated that future investigations in areas where German immigrants constituted a greater presence, will identify a full range of property types. It is also possible that significant archaeological remains of the construction industries in the two county area, such as the German immigrant brickyards, may be identified by future investigations.

Extant Examples. The following are the only recorded examples of properties associated with the German immigrant construction trades and industries:

J. C. Heese Lumberyard, Earling, 1886-1921 (lumber shed, office, and elevator)

Defiance Lumber Company lumber shed/office, Defiance, 1890s

George Rewerts House, Defiance, 1902

J. C. Heese House, Earling, c. 1907-09

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At present, the recorded sample of buildings associated with German immigrant settlement in the two county area is not large enough to formulate a typology, such as that formulated for Danish immigrant residential buildings and barns. The properties being nominated under the German immigrant context of this document represent the significant remnants of the impacted resources of the German settlement. A total of 37 houses and six barns were recorded during the German immigrant survey. While it is difficult at this point to formulate a residential typology and impossible to formulate one for barns, some general typological observations can be made concerning the recorded houses associated with the German settlement of Shelby and Audubon counties.

Utilizing the basic type definitions formulated from the Danish building trends, 11 of the houses recorded in the German area can be categorized as gabled ells, with nine being four-square, six as variants of the gabled double-pile, six side-passage, three hipped cottages, one frontier housing, and one bungalow. Two varieties recorded in this sample appear, from comparisons with the sample from the Danish survey as well as with observations made during the windshield survey of large portions of the two county area, to be unique to the German settlement area; however, it remains for future investigations to substantiate these observations. These include a variant of the gabled double-pile which is characterized by either a side or front, extremely broad, clipped gable roof [Plate E25]. Shed or gabled roof wall dormers are found either centrally placed or paired on the front gable. This roof form is very distinctive, appears to be concentrated in the Panama vicinity, and bears further investigation to clarify its possible ethnic association. Three examples of this variant were recorded in the Panama vicinity, although others do exist in this same area. The second variety of note appears to be a derivative of the basic four-square type but is actually rectangular in shape. The recorded examples are extremely large and massive, have a hipped roof, and commonly have a centrally-placed, triangular, gabled dormer on the front roof slope [Plate E26]. This variant appears to be common to the Earling vicinity and also bears further investigation.

Because of the low number of extant resources, the significance of German immigrant residential buildings and barns will have to be evaluated on an individual building by building basis. Evaluation criteria will include associations with significant German immigrants, significant German immigrant construction trades and industries, or from contexts developed in greater depth individually for each property. It is anticipated that future investigations of German immigrant settlements in Iowa will enlarge and expand upon these contexts and provide a data base sufficient for the development of useful typologies in which extant resources can be more effectively evaluated.

Extant Examples. The following are examples of some of the houses and barns recorded in the German settlement area and constructed during the 1872-1940s period of significance:

Emil Flusche House, Westphalia Township, Shelby County, 1872 (moved),
frontier housing type

Wooster House, Section 25, Jefferson Township, Shelby County, c. 1889-1890
(gabled ell)

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- Langenfeld House, 304 Duren St., Westphalia (gabled ell)
- Wachendor House, SE corner of Farnum and 12th St., Westphalia, 1911 (gabled ell)
- Leuticke House, 108 13th St., Westphalia, c. 1918 (gabled ell)
- Landacker House 200 3rd St., Panama, c. 1898 (gabled ell)
- Altman House, 105 3rd Ave., Earling, (gabled ell)
- August Haster House, Section 22, Washington Township, Shelby County (gabled ell)
- Thileis House, Section 16, Washington Township, Shelby County, early 1900s (clipped gable variant of the gabled ell)
- George Rewerts House, 306 8th Ave., Defiance, 1902 (side-passage)
- Elizabeth Theile second and third houses, Earling (side-passage)
- Elizabeth Theile first house, Earling (four-square)
- Wageman House, Section 23, Westphalia Township, Shelby County (four-square)
- Zimmerman House, Section 22, Westphalia Township, Shelby County, 1892 (four-square)
- J. C. Heese House, 259 1st St., Earling, c. 1907-1909 (variant four-square)
- Schmitz house, 13th St., Westphalia (gabled wall dormer variant of four-square)
- Langenfeld House, 209 3rd Ave., Earling, 1919 (bungalow)
- Koppold barn, Section 31, Douglas Township, Shelby County (Euro-American)
- Kwapiszkeski barn, south edge of Panama (raised basement barn)
- Wooster barns, Polk Township, Shelby County
- Stutzman barn, Center Township, Shelby County, 1901 (Square Hipped Roof, truncated variant)

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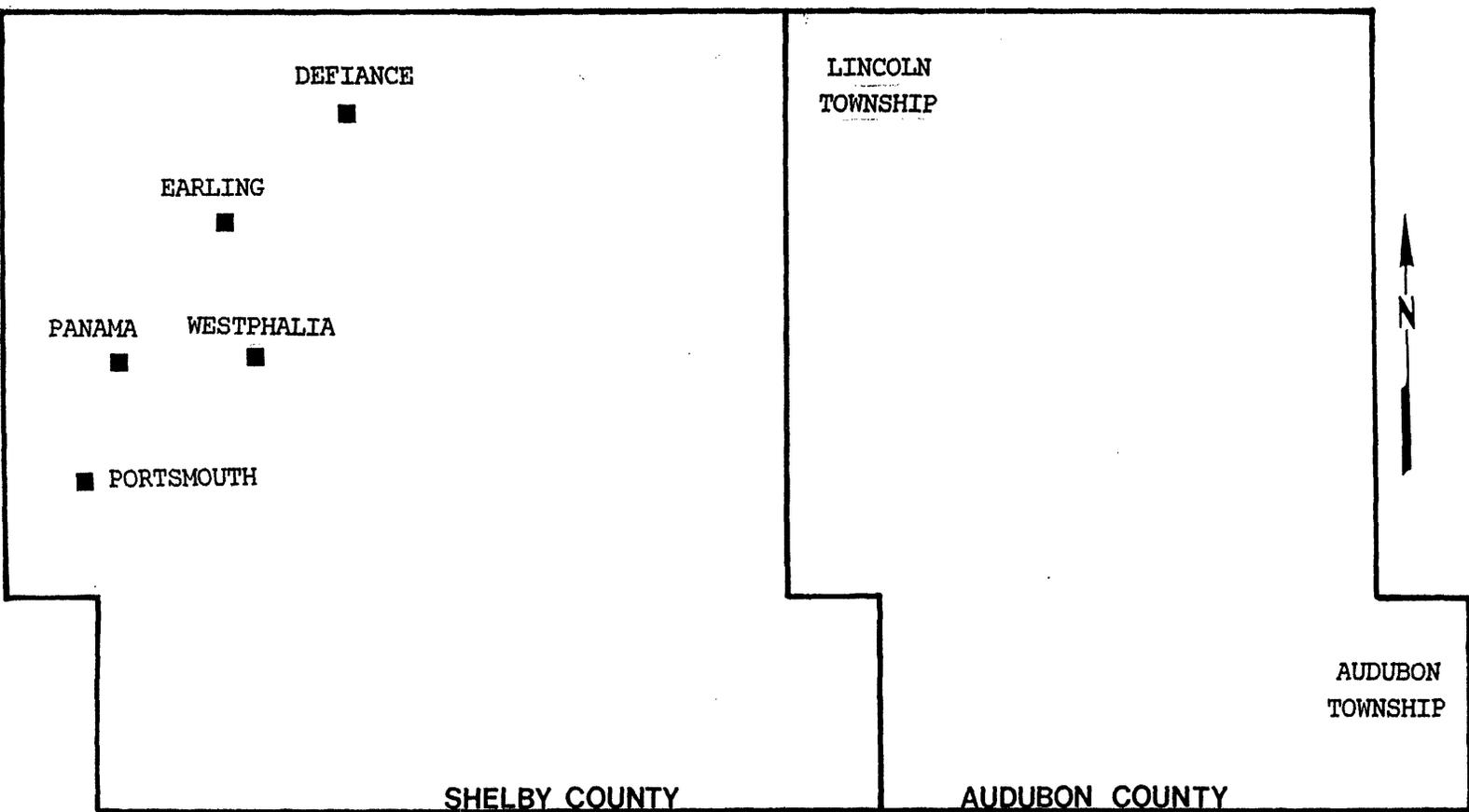


Figure E23. Location of German Settlements in Shelby and Audubon Counties.

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Plate E25. Broad Clipped Gabled House, Panama.



Plate E26. House Type Common in Earling, J. C. Heese House-

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III. ETHNIC INFLUENCE ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF SHELBY AND AUDUBON COUNTIES, THE
DANISH IMMIGRANT CASE STUDY: 1865-1924

The following context is provided primarily as an incentive for future investigations. The survey and analysis conducted to date allows for some speculations on the subject of ethnic influence on the region's architecture; however, the comparative control sample, which would either confirm or refute these speculations, has not as yet been compiled. It is recommended that future investigations place some priority on the comprehensive survey of the resources of the two county area in general in order to provide the data base with which these ethnic studies can be compared and contrasted. There appears to be some validity in the inferences drawn to date, and it would be a tremendous contribution to ethnic studies to continue this line of investigation. None of the properties nominated with this submittal are being done so under this context, although it is noted in the nominations of two dwellings (i.e., the Koch House and the Chris Larsen House in Elk Horn) that they are potentially significant under this context but await further study to confirm that association.

The study of ethnic influence in architecture has been the focus of a number of recent studies, including two studies in the Shelby/Audubon county area. While an in-depth ethnic architectural study was beyond the scope of the present project, the field survey results did reveal some noteworthy parallels with similar studies. The following, therefore, should be considered a preliminary study which will require more intensive survey and analysis before strong conclusions can be stated.

In 1969-1970 Signe T. Betsinger conducted a doctoral study of potential Danish design influences in the houses and home furnishings of the Kimballton vicinity. The purpose of that investigation was to: (1) document the history of early houses of Danish immigrants, (2) to determine what cultural influences were once present or remained in the houses, and (3) to record important information that would be inaccessible in ten to twenty years (Betsinger 1970:2-3). The assumption was made that between 1860-1918, the houses, particularly the interiors, would reflect the cultural background of the Danish immigrants, and further that there would be remnant evidence discernible at the time of study. To complete this study, Betsinger examined historic literature and newspapers concerning the survey area, unpublished materials, legal records, historic photographs, and the houses themselves. The latter were selected through direct observation, oral history interviews, and data obtained from the legal records. The houses recorded were "representative of house architecture in the Kimballton, Iowa, area during the years 1875 to 1918" (Ibid.:17). A total of 37 houses were recorded in Betsinger's dissertation. Of these, four were recorded as non-extant properties, while eight had been greatly modified by the time of recording in 1969.

Betsinger noted that pioneer carpenters are often described as having been "migratory, ill-trained, subject to fitful employment" and producing mediocre work (Betsinger 1970:53). While this may have been true of carpentry on the frontier in the 1840s-1860s, it was not true of the carpenters in the Kimballton vicinity after 1870. Betsinger further noted that:

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Danish carpenters tended to be highly skilled, most of them having served apprenticeships in Denmark. They were capable of drawing up plans and executing them, producing houses that could withstand the tests of time. Although their training may have included drafting, they were not trained as architects, but they knew their materials and could make them yield to their tools. The work they did was custom made (Betsinger 1970:53-54).

The results of Betsinger's field and archival research indicated that there were some characteristics of house exteriors and interiors which appeared to have been influenced by the Danish background of the persons by whom and for whom these houses were built and decorated. Figure E24 is a graphic illustration of the number of houses built in Sharon Township, Audubon County, between 1878 to 1918. This indicates that the peak years for house construction in the Kimballton vicinity were 1888, 1898, and 1908. The resurgence in house construction c. 1918 likely reflects the replacement of older house structures as well as homes built for the descendants of immigrant settlers who were by then of an age where they would have been establishing their own families.

The results of Betsinger's study indicated that the main characteristics of immigrant houses built in the Kimballton vicinity between 1874-1890 were the use of a low, rectangular form with a symmetrical placement of exterior features, most prominently a central, gabled wall dormer. There seems to be some correlation of this house form with houses common in Denmark in the nineteenth century. Typically, those houses are low, rectangular one-story buildings sometimes standing alone parallel to the barn but more often connected to the barns in such a manner as to form a courtyard space. This type of house-barn arrangement is not known in the Shelby/Audubon county area, rather the Danish immigrants "tended to build small houses and big barns," with the house designs emphasizing the horizontal (Betsinger 1970:112). Decorative treatment on the house exterior during this period was minimal, although the craftsmen's artistic skills were often evident on the window and door surrounds, on the doors themselves, and on porches. The interiors also often exhibited well-crafted painted wood graining on door and window surrounds and on wainscoting and, in some instances, painted murals, marbled panels, and borders (Betsinger 1970:112-122).

The characteristics of houses in the Kimballton area between 1891 to 1907 indicated a departure from the earlier emphasis on the rectangular house form with symmetrical fenestration, although there was some retention of this form into the twentieth century. Houses of this period were larger and generally had bay windows, double door openings in the interior, hallways on the second floors, a proliferation of elaborate applied decoration on the exteriors, and the use of etched and stained glass for ornamental door windows and window headers, particularly in bay windows. Wall painting, wood graining, and the use of wainscoting on the interiors continued into this period (Betsinger 1970:163-169).

The houses built in this area between 1908-1918 were generally large, with larger interior spaces than in previous periods. The interiors had the added features of more closets, hallways, and bathrooms. The double door was still popular, while the interior woodwork was more simple in design but high quality

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in execution. Colonnades and built-in bookcases, benches, and cabinets were common. Applied exterior decoration continued into this period but with less emphasis than in previous periods. These decorations were now factory-made millwork rather than the hand-crafted items characteristic of the earlier periods. Frosted and stained glass windows gave way to plain beveled glass panes or ones with simple etched lines. Interior wall decoration was limited to wallpaper and plate rails during this period (Betsinger 1970:197-209).

Since 1970, Dr. Betsinger has conducted additional studies of Danish design influence on the immigrant architecture and house interiors of Minnesota. One such study examined 28 houses in southwestern Minnesota and found many parallels to her study in the Kimballton vicinity. One observation was that there appeared to be parallels to Danish farm houses which typically are oriented so that the long side of the building is facing the road or street and would have a central doorway and balanced window arrangements, with a centered gabled entryway. Many of the early Danish immigrant homes in the Minnesota study displayed characteristics similar to those observed in the Kimballton vicinity, including the symmetrical fenestration, the orientation to the roadway, and the presence of a central gabled dormer (Betsinger 1986:26-28). Specifically, in the Minnesota survey sample Betsinger (1986:48) found that houses built during the period 1885-1896 tended to be simple in form and detail, with some bearing "vestiges of the symmetrical Danish houses of rural Denmark." Houses built between 1897 to 1930 were found to be larger with more Victorian characteristics such as gables, wings, decorative detailing, and asymmetrical fenestration (Ibid.:48).

The second study conducted in the Elk Horn/Kimballton vicinity was that by Thomas Carter, with the assistance of Gary Christensen, in 1987 for the Danish Immigrant Museum. Although the constraints of that project necessarily limited its scope, they were able to draw some initial conclusions concerning the house types present in that area. Carter identified seven basic house types: hall-parlor, central-passage, gabled double-pile, cross-wing, Victorian side-passage, bungalow, and four-square from a sample totaling 20 houses (Carter 1987:1-10). Early immigrant homes were generally of the hall-parlor, central-passage, or cross-wing type, with the gabled double-pile and Victorian side-passage tending to date into the early 1900s, while the four-square and bungalow dated primarily from post-1900. Carter concluded that in general these house types were common to the Midwest and had few ethnic associations, although he noted that features such as the centrally-placed dormers appear to reflect Danish preferences but are "widely found throughout the United States between 1850 and 1910" (Ibid.:8).

Carter did feel that the gabled double-pile form had "intriguing" similarities to Danish dwellings that were being constructed in Denmark in the late nineteenth century. These dwellings were characterized by a "one-and-one-half story, two-room deep, gabled house" which is "encountered widely throughout Denmark" (Carter 1987:8). In Denmark these houses are usually built of brick and have a central gabled wall dormer or gabled entry (Figure E25). A recent windshield survey conducted by Project Assistant, Roslea Johnson, in Denmark revealed that in Lintrup and Aero this was the dominant rural house form in areas from which many of the residents of the Danish settlement area in Shelby and Audubon counties had emigrated.

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Carter noted that while the gabled double-pile type is not an imported Danish form, the popularity of this type in the Elk Horn/Kimballton area suggests that the Danish immigrants were selecting an American house form that reminded them of houses they had known in Denmark (Ibid.:8-10).

The present investigation found many of the same house types and characteristics as those noted in Betsinger's and Carter's study. The present study utilized data from both of these studies but expanded the survey area and broadened the archival research beyond the vicinity of Kimballton and Elk Horn to encompass much of the Danish settlement area of Sharon, Oakfield, and Exira townships in Audubon County, and Clay, Monroe, and Jackson townships in Shelby County. The archival research involved an examination of centennial community histories, historic photograph collections, published and unpublished historical accounts, and oral history interviews. The field survey included a re-examination of all the houses recorded in Betsinger's study and some in Carter's study as well as a widespread "windshield" survey along the roadways which criss-cross these townships. It was found that of the 33 extant houses recorded by Betsinger in 1969, four were no longer extant and nine had been substantially modified since that time. While this investigation cannot be considered a definitive study of the ethnic architecture of this area, it does provide a solid baseline from which future investigations can launch more intensive surveys and draw more refined conclusions.

The results of this preliminary investigation tend to support the suggestions made by Betsinger and Carter concerning the seeming preference on the part of Danish immigrants for particular house types and detailing. In the Danish settlement area there is a preponderance of gabled houses (hall-parlor, central-passage, and cross-wing) which commonly exhibit the characteristics noted above as having similarities to houses in Denmark from the same period. These include low, horizontal, rectangular forms with symmetrical fenestration (a central door flanked by windows) and a central gabled wall dormer above the entry. This seeming preference for central gabled wall dormers carries over into the four-square type and later bungalow type in this area, although on the latter the dormer was common to the overall style of architecture.

The present study further noted that there also appears to be a strong preference for elaborate exterior detailing on those houses dating from the 1890s into the early 1900s. This type of detailing is late Victorian in stylistic derivation, but the common occurrence and particularly the degree of elaboration appears to have some linkage with the Danish immigrant area. The present condition of some of these houses in the survey area gives little indication of their original elaboration; however, the historic photographs of these same houses, often taken shortly after they were built, document the detailing. Preliminary observations do suggest that the historic porches of the Danish settlement area have retained a high degree of integrity relative to other areas in the two counties; however, the constraints of the present survey precluded the recording of a control population outside of the Danish settlement area from which such observations could be substantiated and statements of significance drawn. The decorative detailing present in the recorded sample and as observed in available historic photographs includes decorative woodwork, shingle siding, scroll-sawn brackets, turned spindlework, carved and scrolled bargeboards, intricate gable screens, and sawtooth and rectangular denticulations [Plates E2 and E8]. The addition of towers and dormers which

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often have no practical reason for being other than for decorative styling are also found with regularity on these houses [see Plates E8, E11-12].

An additional detail noted on many of the early 1900s-era houses in the Kimballton/Elk Horn area is the occurrence of concrete blocks underneath the porches or as cornerstones of the house foundations that have molded floral patterns, each side exhibiting a different flower [Plate E27]. These blocks were undoubtedly made at the Jensen cement factories in both towns, and show an attention to decorative detailing that appears to be unique in the area. Those factories were also noted for the elaborate, classical concrete porch columns still evident on many of the four-square type houses of the area.

An interview with Paul Scott of rural Harlan provided some insights into the Danish immigrant carpenters and their work. Scott is the son of Ras Scott who immigrated from Randers, Denmark, c. 1908 and worked as a carpenter in Jackson Township until 1918, when he married and purchased a farmstead. Ras Scott never really gave up carpentry, rather he continued to build barns and other outbuildings well into his old age. He was typical of many of the Danish immigrant carpenters in that he had learned the trade in Denmark and was skilled in drawing plans and in their execution. He was also skilled in furniture and other wood crafts and had a lifelong "hobby" of building boats, both life-size and miniature. Scott was known as a perfectionist in his work and he loved handcrafted work, particularly fancy woodwork. He expressed a dislike of "modern" methods and it was against his desires that he eventually began using electric power tools in his work. He was also disappointed when the fancy woodwork was no longer produced by the carpenters themselves but was ordered from mills and they would just glue it together. His opinions and his level of skill did not appear to be unique but rather were characteristic of the Danish immigrant carpenters who worked in the Shelby/Audubon county area. Ras Scott loved to recount how when he first came to Shelby County and he got a job with one of the Jacksonville carpenter gangs, they first put him through his paces to check out his skills (Scott, personal communication 1990).

The present investigation did notice two seemingly different "schools" of carpentry design in the Danish settlement area. On the one hand there were those carpenters, such as Ras Scott, who concentrated on their skills and were perfectionists in their execution, but whose buildings rarely stretched the boundaries of design, and they may have been more comfortable with pattern book designs which they adapted to their tastes and those of their clients. Their buildings, however, display a remarkable degree of structural soundness and have well withstood the test of time. On the other hand, there were carpenters, most notably Carl V. Andersen, whose designs for houses, and to some extent even barns, were innovative and experimental in their design. Andersen's houses, in particular, bordered on the fanciful in their design and he had a penchant for sunbursts, elaborate brackets, and two story towers. His interior designs were characteristically "odd" in that they often included strangely angled walls, which were angled for no practical purpose other than to manipulate interior space, and interesting pass-through cupboards and dumbwaiters between the kitchen and dining rooms. However, in four documented cases, his designs have proved to be flawed, and it appears that he may have sacrificed a small measure of structural soundness for innovative design. These flaws include: towers that have been prone to leaking, in one case the tower was removed to solve the problem, while in another the problem has persisted to the point where repairs

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will eventually have to be made; a barn which was built like no other barn in the survey sample, but whose support structure is literally coming apart because of a faulty design; and an angled wall design in one house that failed to provide adequate support for the room directly above and as a result the floor joists are sagging. Significant properties built by carpenters of both "schools" of design are eligible for nomination in part because they exemplify these two approaches, with some being significant because of the soundness and regularity of their design and construction, while others are significant because of their innovative designs. On the whole, the work of the Danish immigrant carpenters was outstanding as well as distinctive in the region.

While the gabled cottages, ells, and cross-wing types are typical of late nineteenth century houses all over the Shelby/Audubon county area, preliminary observations indicate that there was a noticeable preference for these house types in the Danish settlement area, with the particular preference for extensive exterior elaboration. The latter is not an imported Danish architectural feature, as the exterior of the common rural house in Denmark built in the late nineteenth century exhibited minimal exterior elaboration including kingposts or trusses in the front gable peak, denticulated friezeboards, decorative wooden doors, and cornice returns. Further, these houses commonly did not have open porches (Betsinger 1986:27-28). However, the interiors of these homes were characterized by decorative elaboration including painted murals and/or framed pictures, carved pyramid shelves (pyramidehylde or Amagerhylde) that held "what-nots," and plates that were arranged in decorative patterns on walls of the parlor and dining rooms of Danish homes. Perhaps it can be speculated that this love of decorative interior detailing became extended to the house exterior when the Danish immigrants were exposed to the elaboration of the late Victorian style in the United States.

The field survey further indicated that the central gabled wall dormer, while certainly not exclusive to the Danish settlement area, did appear to have been incorporated in the design of the majority of homes built in the 1890s-1910s in that area noticeably more so than in other areas. With a few exceptions, such as the Erik Simonsen house in Kimballton, the first homes built by the Danish immigrants in the 1870s-1880s were gabled but without much exterior elaboration and sometimes lacking the gabled dormers, but these quickly gave way to gabled cottages, gabled ells and side-passage forms, the majority of which displayed gabled dormers and/or excessive decorative exterior detailing. These preferences carried over into the 1900s when the four-square and gabled double-pile forms dominated the area's architecture. The field survey indicated that the gabled double-pile form is characteristic of the Elk Horn/Kimballton vicinity more so than any of the other areas observed in the two county area. The similarities of this house form to house forms in Denmark is striking [see Plates E5 and E6 and Figure E25]. This coupled with its relative uniqueness to the Elk Horn/Kimballton area suggests that it does exhibit a Danish ethnic influence in its occurrence and manifestation in this area. In Denmark this form is typically constructed of brick, and to date only one gabled double-pile house has been observed in the Danish settlement area that is constructed of this material. This is the Hans Koch house located at the south end of Kimballton at the location of the former Crystals Springs Brickyard [see Plate E5]. This house, built in 1908 of culled bricks from that yard, was constructed by and for Danish immigrants and was allegedly patterned after the Koch family home in Denmark (Andersen, personal communication 1991). The more common

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manifestation of the gabled double-pile house form in the Elk Horn/Kimballton vicinity is of frame construction, such as the Chris Larsen house in Elk Horn [see Plate E6], but it remains a distinctive type which still conveys the overall feel and form of a Danish house.

As noted previously, in May, 1991, Project Assistant Roslea Johnson was able to take a trip to Denmark that provided the opportunity to expand this research to seek Danish antecedents which may have influenced the building design choices made by the immigrants who settled in Shelby and Audubon counties. Because three-quarters of the settlers in Poplar and many of those throughout the Danish settlement area of Shelby and Audubon counties emigrated from Lintrup Parish and the Island of Aero, an attempt was made to be as thorough as possible in conducting a simple windshield survey of these two small areas in Denmark. Farmsteads, houses, churches, and other buildings, known to have been associated with the Shelby/Audubon Danish immigrants, were photographically recorded. Danish open-air museums at Lyngby and Odense, in which nineteenth century rural houses and barns have been preserved, provided opportunity for further research. More than 50 reconstructed farmsteads from throughout Denmark were studied at these museums in an attempt to determine what potential influence Danish building traditions may have had upon the building trends evidenced in Shelby and Audubon counties. The following, based upon these observations, is not intended to be definitive, but rather, to suggest areas for future research.

Typical Danish farmsteads have barns connected with houses, stables, and other outbuildings, all of which share a common wall and continuous roof with the adjacent buildings. In some cases, the house and barn are separated by a narrow passageway covered by a continuous roof. In the past, only the small homes of craftsmen and the farmsteads of the poorest smallholders utilized a linear configuration of house and stable. In larger farmsteads with more rooms or bays, a configuration was commonly used which created some approximation of a central courtyard. An exception was the south Funen Islands farms where an L-shaped configuration was often used (Jeppesen and Johansen 1990:18). These islands were represented by a significant number of immigrants to Shelby and Audubon counties.

Where the courtyard configuration was used, access to the farmstead was gained through a narrow passageway to the courtyard. Both the festival entrance and the common entrance to the house as well as access to barns, stables, and outbuildings, opened off the courtyard. If the house had a road-front or side entrance, it usually provided access only to an enclosed garden. Typically, the well and manure pit for stable refuse were both sited in the courtyard, a situation that would seem to create sanitation problems. No approximation of the Danish connected barn or the courtyard configuration is in evidence in Shelby or Audubon counties. The closest approximation may have been one of the outbuildings on the Martin P. Henriksen farmstead in the Poplar Rural District. This outbuilding consisted of three partitioned buildings, including the laying house, brooder house, and scratch pen, which were connected in an L-shape. However, the other buildings on this farmstead were separate buildings and structures.

The nineteenth century was a period of major change in Danish farming and rural construction techniques. Most farmsteads built before that time were half-timbered with wattle and daub or brick infill. Instead of foundations, these

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buildings had foundation stones which rested on the earth and were not set in mortar. Foundations may have been less necessary in Denmark because, unlike Iowa, temperatures rarely fall much below freezing. However, the walls of many of these buildings are very lopsided and evidence of settling. In these buildings with dirt or cobblestone floors and thatched roofs, the settling seems to have created few structural failures and thus may not have been of particular concern. This building tradition as well as the relative lack of foundation materials, may have contributed to the practice in the Danish settlement area in Shelby and Audubon counties of building barns and some houses without foundations. In Iowa, this practice has resulted in structural problems which have necessitated later renovations to add foundations. One extreme example, is the Chris N. Larsen house in Brayton. This house was built by Danish immigrant carpenter Chris N. Larsen without a foundation and is decaying badly as a result. This problem has precipitated the decision to demolish the building.

Another striking feature of the old style of construction in Denmark was the very low ceiling, often six feet high or less. There was also frequent use of decorative interior painting including floral designs, marbled panels, and other textured treatments and embellishments.

Because nineteenth century Denmark was so overpopulated, with places such as Aero having nearly twice the population which could be sustained (Groth 1991), the old half-timbered farmsteads often were very crowded with a few small rooms housing a large farm family, the family of the previous owner who custom dictated must also be cared for, and servants. Farm hands often slept in a small unheated windowless room in the stable or barn (Jeppesen and Johansen 1990).

In contrast, new farm construction in Lintrup Parish and on Aero after the mid-nineteenth century tended to be built of brick. These structures necessitated well built foundations. The houses were larger and tended to have more spacious rooms, with separate bedrooms rather than sleeping alcoves. Further, the new houses had wood floors and ceilings and often had clay tile roofs. Ceilings were much higher than in the earlier buildings, often being seven to nine feet in height and imparting a much lighter and more spacious feeling.

The old-style half-timbered construction may have represented the cold, damp, overcrowded conditions of poverty which the immigrants were hoping to escape by coming to America. It is not surprising that they made no attempt to duplicate this style, adopting instead many of the stylistic elements of the larger, modern nineteenth century brick farmsteads. Thus, efforts to use half-timbering in an attempt to create "Danish architecture" in the settlement area of Shelby and Audubon counties may be evoking the very images the immigrants to Iowa were trying to forget.

The high level of skill of Danish carpenters, as evidenced by the intricate decorative doors still found especially on Aero (Figure E26), was used in America seemingly to recreate in wood the stylistic elements of the brick farmsteads in Denmark. As has already been discussed, the symmetrical house form with the centrally-placed dormer was very common throughout Denmark and seems to have dominated brick construction in Lintrup Parish and on Aero after the mid-nineteenth century (see Figure E25). These buildings very often had brick cornice returns and denticulated friezes. The central dormers and the

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facades with symmetrical fenestration may have influenced immigrants in their selection of basic building forms and types in American. Likewise, the immigrants may have been seeking to duplicate and elaborate in wood the brick cornice returns and dentils with which they were so familiar. The fact that these design elements were common to American architectural styles at the time of immigration, made this selection one of both ethnic familiarity and assimilation into the new society.

Although the jerkinhead, or clipped gable, roof is the norm in much of Denmark including Lintrup and Aero, it was not common in the Danish settlement area of Shelby and Audubon counties. This roof type was necessary in the windswept areas of Denmark because it is less susceptible to wind damage (Uldall 1980:87). Because Iowa is much less windy, the immigrants may have abandoned its use.

The most striking design element of the Poplar farmsteads is the Jacksonville-type window [see Plate E26] which appears to duplicate in wood the segmental arched window shape of the nineteenth century brick barns of Lintrup and Aero (Figure E27). Although both straight and segmental arched lintels were used in houses, the segmental arched window seems to have been preferred for barns in Lintrup Parish and on Aero. In some cases, straight lintels were used in the house and segmental arched windows in the barn wing. The use of round windows in the hay mow and paired windows placed low in the gable end of the mow were commonly found in Lintrup and Aero as well as in the Shelby/Audubon Danish settlement area. Another common feature is the use of the paired open-out hay doors which were identified as a feature of the Jacksonville-type barn (see Section I-1) and was found on all of the Lintrup Parish and Aero barns which were surveyed. All of the latter were one story with a loft, some of which had jerkinhead roofs, while the Shelby/Audubon barns are generally two story barns with lofts and gable roofs.

Although there is no evidence of the connected barn or courtyard configuration in Shelby and Audubon counties, the functioning of the transverse-frame type barn is very similar to the nineteenth century barns in Lintrup Parish and on Aero. Typically, the barns contain aisles of animal stalls with feed bunks and troughs in the floor to facilitate cleaning out animal wastes. The hay mows are above the animal stalls and have trap doors through which hay can be dropped to the animals below. Paired open-out hay doors in both Denmark and Iowa allowed the mow to be filled from outside the barn, and often an aisle allowed the option of filling the mow from inside the barn.

Of the Danish immigrant barns recorded in the present survey, the Euro-American barn type, as defined in Section I-1 of this document, also appears to have a possible Danish antecedent. A typical Danish rural building form consisted of tie beam construction with load-bearing posts well within the building and having a roof which was steeply pitched and extending close to the ground (Figure E28) (Faber n.d.:102). The Danish immigrants who settled in the two county area may have been reminded of the form and function of this barn when they chose to build the Euro-American barn type (see Figure E21). The barn portion of a farmstead from Eiderstedt, southwest Slesvig, and preserved in the Lyngby open-air museum also evidences similarities to the Euro-American barn type in Shelby and Audubon counties. Both have similar heavy timber construction and floor plan with central floor-to-ceiling threshing floor and hay storage and a clear-span U-shaped aisle. Both have steeply sloping roofs

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that come very close to the ground (Uldall 1980:31). This barn type was not seen outside the museum, although Uldall reports that it was a common building type in the Eiderstedt peninsular in the Slesvig territory which was ceded to Germany in 1864. This area was well represented by immigrants to Shelby and Audubon counties.

Also in the Lyngby museum, is a barn from Djursland, Eastern Jutland (Uldall 1980:25) which has heavy timber construction with cross-tie beams similar to the unusual heavy timber construction with cross-tie beams between the bents in the T. P. Petersen barn built c. 1890 in the Poplar Rural District. However, this is a very preliminary observation which requires intensive study to determine whether it is relevant to the Danish immigrant experience in Iowa.

Other traditions which Danish immigrants brought with them included the use of swastikas on public buildings and barns as a good luck sign, the construction of at least one windmill in Kimballton that resembled a Danish windmill, and the practice of naming their farms which was much more common in the Danish settlement area than in other parts of Shelby and Audubon counties (History Book Committee 1983:II-65, 78). Farmhouses in Lintrup Parish and on Aero have a space in the central wall dormer for the name of the farm. Some of these spaces have the name of the farm in raised letters. Another practice which Danish immigrants may have brought with them from Denmark was the practice of demarcating the boundaries of individual grave plots. In Denmark this was accomplished with a hedge or fence placed around the plot, while in the Danish cemeteries of Shelby and Audubon counties, the plots were outlined with concrete grave frames.

Finally, the Shelby/Audubon Danish immigrant carpenters, such as Carl V. Andersen, who utilized oddly angled walls in their house designs may also have been influenced in this practice by Danish traditions. Specifically, the ridgepost construction, used in some of the old Danish half-timbered buildings, supported the roof allowing the placement of walls at odd angles and creating buildings with rounded or canted corners (Jeppesen and Johansen 1990:89). The curved walls of the bake oven, present in almost all Danish farmhouses, also created oddly shaped rooms adjacent to the oven. This common Danish building feature indicates the likelihood that the immigrant carpenters who settled in Shelby and Audubon counties would have been familiar with this design technique.

Architectural studies conducted in Danish immigrant settlements in Utah and Nebraska have indicated that the characteristics noted in the Elk Horn/Kimballton vicinity may be typical of Danish immigrant settlements in general. Thomas Carter conducted the Utah studies and he noted house types including the central-passage and double-pile but also a type designated as the three-room pair house which to date has not been noted in the Elk Horn/Kimballton area. This house type is characterized by "a center room, usually the largest and often used as a combination kitchen-living room, flanked by a pair of smaller rooms to either side" (Upton 1986:121). Carter noted that this house form is essentially a scaled-down one-room-deep version of a popular Danish "herrgard," or country house and is found "throughout the Mormon-settled west and the upper Midwest during the second half of the nineteenth century" (Ibid.). He has further noted that the central-passage type with the centrally-placed dormer is common in Danish-American communities, and although it is generally associated with "Anglo-American folk building, the central-passage house also surfaced in

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Denmark during the nineteenth century and may in fact represent a type of pan-northern European popular architecture of the period" (Ibid.).

The Nebraska studies were conducted for the Nebraska State Historical Society and examined Danish settlements in several counties in that state (Kay 1986; Kay and Findlay 1987). One study in Washington County was based on the assumption that houses, farm buildings, churches, and halls of the Danish-American communities would display some or all of the following motifs: steeply-pitched roofs, gabled wall dormers, entry wall dormers, integrated porches, jerkinhead (clipped gable) roofs, and "romantic" exterior wood detailings (Kay 1986:116). This study noted that the central gabled wall dormer, particularly a wide dormer, was "an architectural motif characteristic of Danish domestic architecture through time," and further that beginning in the 1860s, new schools of thought in Scandinavian architecture "brought about a renewed interest in fine craftsmanship and construction" (Ibid.:131-132). The results of the Nebraska survey indicated that, like the Elk Horn/Kimballton area, the Danish immigrant settlement areas in Washington County, Nebraska, exhibited a prevalence of the centrally-placed entry wall dormer and elaborate exterior detailing which tended to be "delicate and finely crafted" (Ibid.:138). However, that study also noted that the jerkinhead roof is "fairly common in Danish-American buildings," a roof type which while present in the Danish settlement area of Shelby and Audubon counties, was rare rather than common. There was also a barn type, which exhibited either a central gabled entry or gabled wall dormers, in the Nebraska survey sample, that is not commonly found in the Shelby/Audubon county area.

All of these studies raise a number of intriguing questions concerning their similarities and differences which suggest that there is some correlation between ethnicity and architecture in the Danish immigrant settlements. It would be interesting to determine if there is some correlation between the areas in Denmark where these settlements originated and the differences found in the surveys done in Minnesota, Nebraska, Iowa, and Utah. However, it remains for future investigations to provide a statistically valid data base in the Shelby/Audubon Danish settlement area from which the above speculations can be cemented or refuted in firm conclusions. At present, the strongest Danish ethnic correlations appear to be with the common presence of the centrally-placed gabled wall dormer and with the gabled double-pile house form. Future investigations may substantiate the other above-noted potential Danish ethnic correlations. The results of the brief trip to Lintrup Parish and the Island of Aero by Roslea Johnson, have suggested intriguing correlations between the rural architecture of these areas and that of the Danish settlement area in Shelby and Audubon counties, particularly in the Poplar Rural District.

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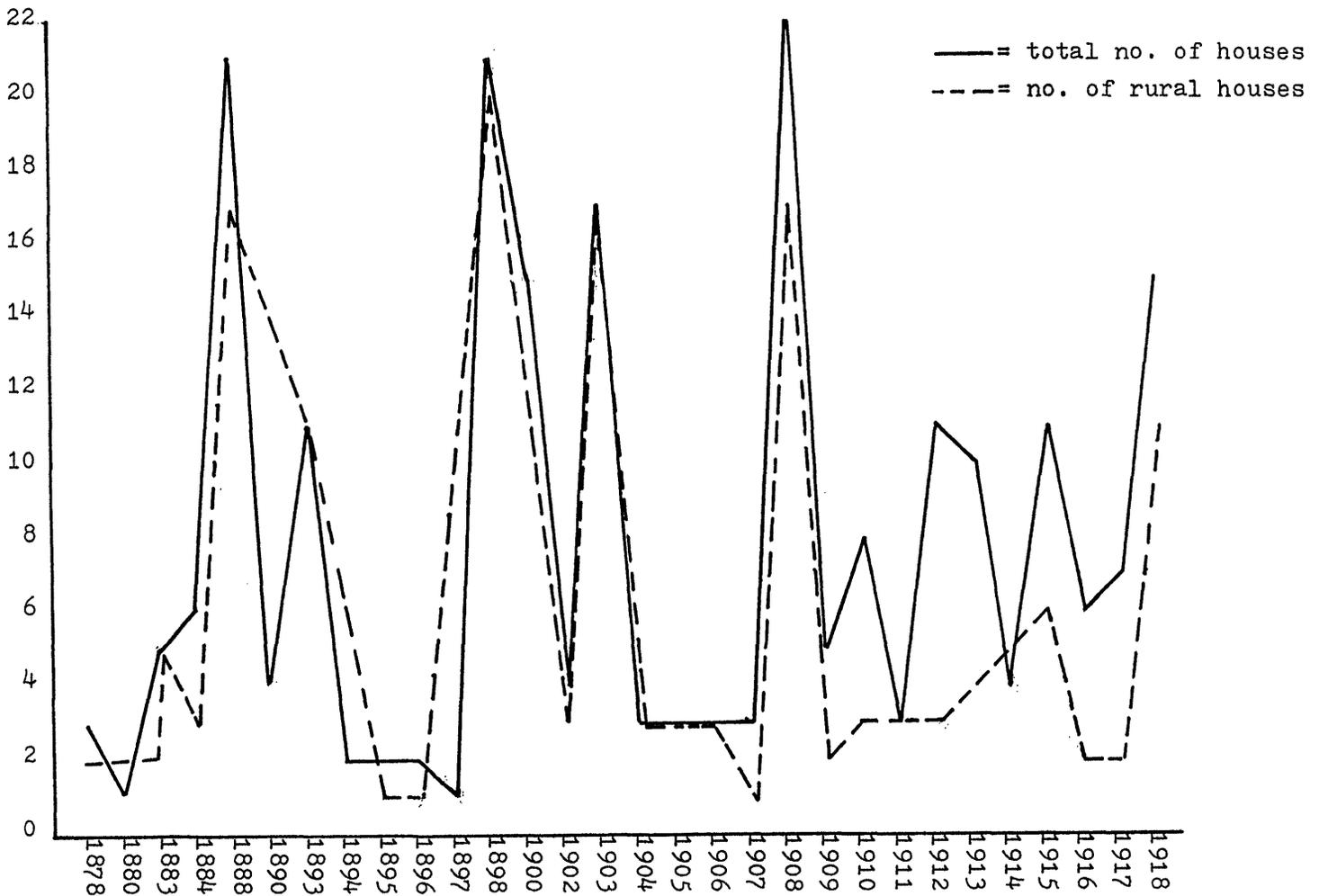


Figure E24. Graph of Houses Built in Sharon Township, Audubon County, Between 1878-1918.
Source: Betsinger 1970:44

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Figure E25. Gabled Brick Houses in Denmark.
Top: Vesterballegaard, Dunkaer, Aero, Denmark
Bottom: c. 1900 House in Brudager, Denmark (from Carter 1987)

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Figure E26. Decorative Front Doors on Houses on Aero, Denmark.

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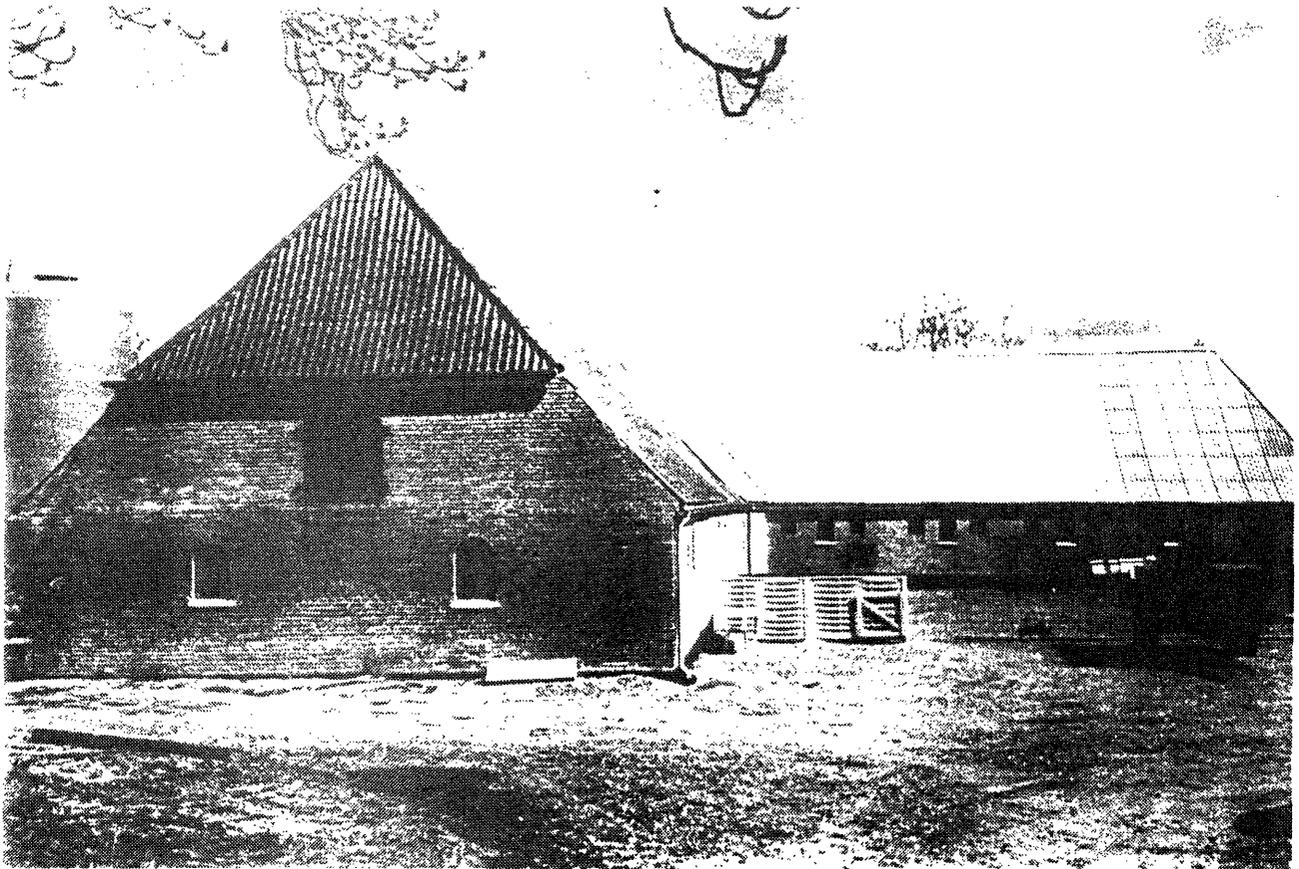


Figure E27. Brick Barn at Risingegaard Farm, Lille Rise, Aero, Denmark.

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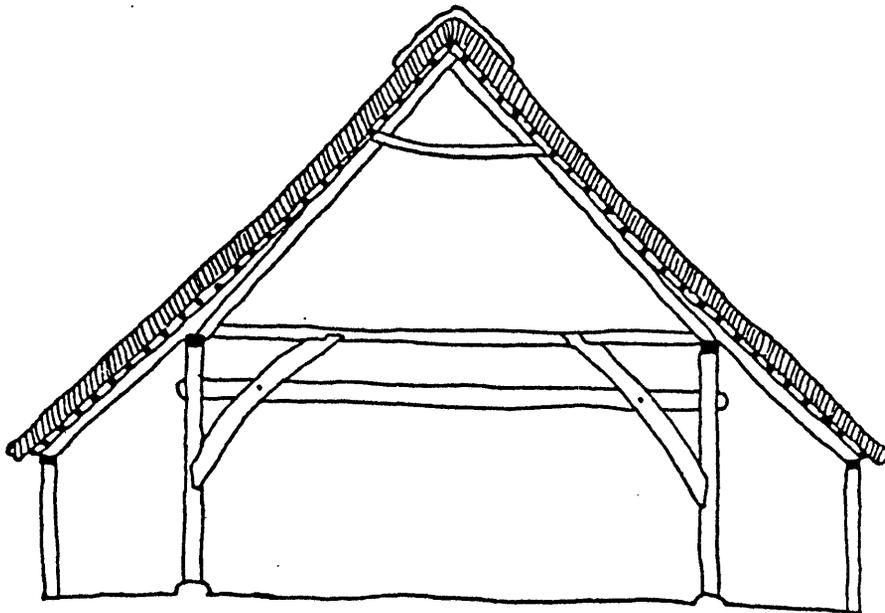


Figure E28. Danish Barn Cross-Section.
Source: Faber n.d.

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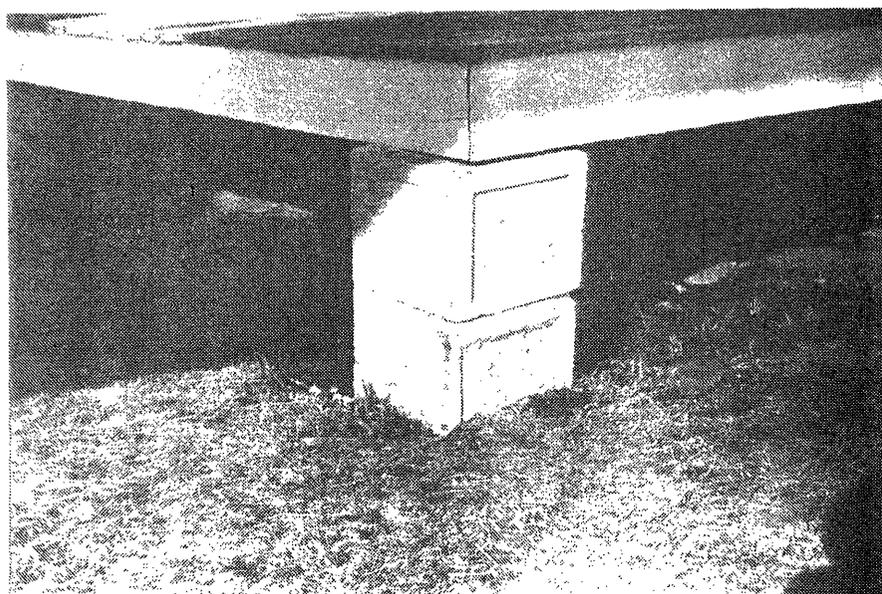


Plate E27. Concrete Blocks With Molded Floral Motif.

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IV. TOPICS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The present investigation was able to examine in great depth the Danish immigrant settlement of Shelby and Audubon counties and to lesser depth the German and other ethnic groups who settled this region. This study was not intended to be an exhaustive treatment of the topic of ethnic settlement, nor were the data equally or readily available for a thorough examination of each group. Therefore, there are several topics concerning ethnic settlement that are being recommended for future research including general and region-specific topics.

The Influence of Second and Third Generations

The present study focused primarily on immigrants because this was the group with the greatest potential to have a definable ethnic influence on the region. However, a topic for future research should concern the possible ethnic influences carried on by the second and third generation descendants of the immigrants. Were ethnic preferences in architecture carried into subsequent generations? For example, were the selections of bungalow styles, popular in the 1910s-1920s in the region, influenced by ethnicity? Were second and third generation farmstead layouts and spatial utilization effected by ethnic traditions passed down through the generations? Mackintosh's (1990) recent study seems to indicate some potential for persisting ethnic agricultural traditions beyond the immigrant generation. A further aspect of this topic should concern the degree and rapidity of cultural assimilation. At what point, if any, is ethnicity overwhelmed by assimilation?

Ethnic Heritage Revivals

As time progresses, this topic will be of importance to National Register nomination considerations. Recent revivals of interest in cultural heritage are manifesting themselves in the architecture and social history of many areas in Iowa. How much of these revivals are true reflections of ethnic cultural traditions and history and how much are Americanized ideas about cultural traditions? An interesting study will be how ethnic revivals are impacting the true ethnic heritage of an area's architecture and social traditions. For example, in trying to make a building look "Danish" for the benefit of an area's tourism potential are you actually destroying the physical manifestation of the Danish immigrants' influence on the region's architecture and/or building materials? Such a study should be undertaken to aid the Certified Local Governments in their historic preservation management responsibilities.

Shelby and Audubon County-Specific Topics

German Immigrant Agriculture

The present study was not able to fully examine the history and manifestation of German immigrant influence on the region's agriculture. The field survey of Westphalia Township indicated that the historic farmsteads of that area are not

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well preserved, and few remained which possessed enough integrity to record. Time did not permit expansion of the field survey into other potential areas of German immigrant farmsteads such as in Cass, Union, Lincoln, and Shelby townships in Shelby County and in Lincoln, Audubon, and Douglas townships in Audubon County. Future investigations should include an examination of these areas. It may be that an area does exist in which historic German farmsteads remain intact. Of particular interest, would be a comparison of the German Catholic versus German Lutheran settlers and whether there are discernible differences in the farmsteads associated with these two groups.

German Immigrant Builders

There is some indication that German immigrant craftsmen were among the early settlers of the two county area. Documentation of the immigrant carpenters and masons, and the buildings they constructed, potentially could answer the questions raised by the present investigation concerning house forms which appeared to be unique to certain areas, such as in Earling and Panama. The German Catholic community of Westphalia should also be fully recorded as to buildings, structures, and sites in order to better understand the potential ethnic influences upon the architecture of the German communities.

Definition of the Danish Settlement Area

The present investigation illustrated the amount of resources present in the two county area concerning Danish settlement. The boundaries of the "Danish Settlement Area" are generally known; however, further field survey is required to precisely define those boundaries and to determine whether this area qualifies as a National Register district. Such a study will require documentation of all the contributing and non-contributing properties in this district, likely numbering in the hundreds and including several communities. Furthermore, while this project was able to record a large number of properties in the Danish settlement area, it should by no means be considered a completed survey with all potentially significant properties identified. There were a number of areas which could not be examined by the present investigation, such as the Ridge Road area near Kimballton and Elk Horn, and may be found to be rich in ethnic resources and nominatable properties. It is recommended that some thought be given to a long-term effort to conduct a 100% survey of Danish properties in Jackson, Monroe, and Clay townships in Shelby County and Oakfield, Sharon, and Douglas townships in Audubon County.

Impact of the Danes and Germans on Heterogeneous Communities

In Shelby and Audubon counties, there were sizable Danish and German populations in the larger towns whose overall populations were a mixture of various ethnic and native-born groups. It was beyond the scope of the present study to sort out all the complex relationships and associations connected with these ethnic groups in heterogeneous populations. Therefore, it remains for future investigations to discern potential ethnic influences in these communities. Comparisons with discerned ethnic influences manifested in homogenous ethnic communities would also be of research interest. Comparisons with discerned ethnic influences manifested in homogenous ethnic communities would also be of research interest. Some attention should be directed at the identification of

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possible ethnic neighborhoods in heterogeneous communities such as Harlan and Audubon. If such neighborhoods existed, there is some potential for historic ethnic districts in these communities. For example, Court and East Market Streets in Harlan may have been a Danish neighborhood.

Ethnicity in Architecture

The investigations conducted to date concerning Danish ethnic influence in the Shelby/Audubon county area have pointed to a number of characteristics and house forms that appear to have either Danish antecedents or exhibit "cultural selection" on the part of the Danish builders and immigrants of that area. However, these studies are still speculative in their conclusions, and it should be a goal of future survey efforts to obtain a statistically valid sample of houses not only from the Danish settlement area but from other ethnic and non-ethnic settlement areas from which firm conclusions could be drawn.

Ethnicity in Archaeology

There is also a tremendous potential in the two county area for archaeological investigations concerning ethnicity. Sites such as the Poplar townsite, which was populated by one ethnic group, provide an important opportunity to examine research questions concerning the manifestation of ethnicity in dietary patterning, material culture, and spatial utilization. Other similar sites exist in the two county area, thus providing a potentially extensive and significant data base. Management priority should be given to the Phase II investigation of the Poplar townsite, 13AB7 and 13SH7, to evaluate the individual National Register eligibility of this site as well as to record and evaluate the number of potential farmstead sites potentially located within the boundaries of the Poplar Rural District.

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F. PROPERTY TYPES ASSOCIATED WITH THE ETHNIC HISTORIC SETTLEMENT OF SHELBY
AND AUDUBON COUNTIES FROM 1860-1941

Property type descriptions presented in this section are general summations of the more detailed descriptions given in the typologies in Section E. The reader is referred to the appropriate sections for each property type. Properties marked with an asterisk (*) are being nominated to the National Register of Historic Places with this submittal. Properties marked with double asterisks (**) are being nominated as contributing components of farmsteads or rural district with this submittal.

Ia. Property Type: Buildings, structures, sites, and features associated with Danish Immigrant Settlement, 1865-1924: Religious Culture.

- a. Description: The property types associated with Danish immigrant religious culture include churches and parsonages as defined in Section E-Ia. Frame buildings were the preferred church building of the Danish immigrant churches in Shelby and Audubon counties and were generally designed and constructed by local craftsmen. In the two county area, only a few of the churches associated with Danish immigrant religious culture remain extant, and among these some have been greatly modified. The Danish immigrant churches of the two county area generally all had residences built specifically for their clergy. They were generally designed and constructed by local craftsmen. The Danish immigrant parsonages of the two county area have undergone a great deal of modification and destruction resulting in a only a few extant examples, whose overall integrity has been greatly compromised.
- b. Significance: Because there are few historic Danish immigrant religious buildings that remain extant or unmodified, those that do survive relatively unchanged take on an added importance. It was the churches which anchored community and rural development and served as incentives for additional immigrant settlement. This was particularly true of the Danish settlements in the two county area, where early Danish Adventist, Baptist, and Lutheran churches were built often before commercial buildings. The establishment of the Danish Lutheran church in northeast Clay Township in the 1870s served as the impetus for the later growth and development of the present town of Elk Horn, while the establishment of later churches after the split within the Danish Lutheran church drew settlers to particular areas and strongly influenced the educational, social, political, and cultural development of their respective communities and hinterlands. Therefore, Danish immigrant churches are significant at the local level. Danish churches are further potentially significant at the state and national levels if they represent churches associated with key events in the development of Danish immigrant congregations or with key individuals in this development. At the present level of information, none of the surviving Danish immigrant churches in the two county area is significant beyond the local level.

Danish immigrant church parsonages have little significance in and of themselves. Their only importance would lie in their association with a

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significant church or as the best representative property associated with a significant individual.

c. Registration Requirements:

1. Area of Significance:

Criterion A: Religious properties associated with a Danish immigrant congregation which had a major influence on the growth and development of the ethnic community or rural area; Properties which played important roles in the split within the Danish Lutheran Church and its aftermath.

Criterion B: Religious properties associated with individuals who played a leading, pivotal, or important role in the development of Danish immigrant churches.

Criterion C: Danish immigrant religious properties which exemplify the work of an immigrant architect/designer; Religious properties that exemplify the work (exterior and/or interior) of skilled immigrant craftsmen; Religious properties that embody the characteristics of Danish immigrant religious properties and that convey their influence through a physical and visual dominance in the community.

Criterion D: Building ruins and subsurface features that have the potential to yield important information concerning the location, use, and spatial configuration of abandoned Danish immigrant religious properties, particularly those established early in the history of Danish settlement in the area and for which little documentation survives.

Criteria Considerations:

Exception A: Because Danish immigrant religious properties derive their primary significance from their historical importance as representatives of a significant aspect of Danish immigrant settlement in the United States, such properties are considered eligible for the National Register. Such properties must have played an important role not only in the development of their respective congregations, but also in the development of their associated communities or as part of some broader cultural movement, such as the broad sphere of influence that the Indre Mission Society and Grundtvigian synod had in the social, educational, and political development of Danish immigrant settlements in the United States.

2. Integrity Considerations: The first and second generation frame Danish immigrant churches of the Shelby/Audubon area have all undergone some degree of alteration because of deterioration and the needs of expanding congregations. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship therefore should be based on whether the building still conveys a sense of historical time and place and whether the original core building is still recognizable and retains the majority of its original design and material components.

These churches, both rural and in a town setting, are generally sited on hilltops and often have in close proximity a parsonage and cemetery. In

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order to meet the needs of changing congregations, church buildings are sometimes moved, thus compromising the integrity of location, setting, and association, particularly if a rural church is moved into a town setting.

A church moved to a similar location and setting would therefore have more integrity than one moved to a dissimilar location and setting; however, the greatest significance should be attached to those properties which remain on their original location and whose settings and associations, such as with parsonages and cemeteries, have not been greatly compromised.

d. Eligible or Potentially Eligible Properties:

*Immanuel Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Kimballton, 1904

*Bethany Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Sharon Township, Audubon County, 1898

Adventist Church, Clay Township, Shelby County, 1877 (Archaeological site 13SH8); should be tested for potential under Criterion D.

Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Poplar, 1906 (Designated as a component feature within the boundaries of archaeological site 13SH7 and included as a landscape component of the Poplar Rural District being nominated with this document); entire site should be tested for potential under Criterion D.

Ib. Property Type: Buildings, structures, sites, and features associated with Danish immigrant settlement, 1865-1924: Educational Culture.

- a. Description: The primary property type associated with Danish immigrant educational culture is the school and includes three potential school subtypes: the folk school, the summer school, and the public school as defined in Section E-Ib. The first two historically had an association with the Danish Lutheran church, while the latter was more secular in its orientation. Danish public schools were indistinguishable from other public schools in the two county area, except for the Danish Children's School in Kimballton which included Danish courses and cultural traditions in its curriculum. Many of the public schools in the Danish communities of the two county area were designed and built by skilled Danish carpenters and masons.
- b. Significance: Danish immigrant schools, particularly the folk, summer, and Danish Children's schools, are significant because these institutions helped to maintain Danish cultural traditions in the United States, while helping to meet the educational needs of the Danish immigrant population who brought with them a recognition of the importance of education. Therefore, Danish immigrant schools are significant at the local level. A folk school which played a key role in the development of the Danish folk school movement in America might also be significant at the state or national level. None of the extant Danish immigrant educational properties in the two county area qualify at a level of significance beyond the local level.

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c. Registration Requirements:

1. Area of Significance:

Criterion A: Properties that are associated with Danish immigrant educational culture and had an important influence in the educational development of a Danish community.

Criterion B: Educational properties directly associated with a person or persons who played a key role in the development of Danish folk schools in the United States.

Criterion C: Educational properties which exemplify the work of a Danish immigrant architect/designer; Educational properties that exemplify the work of skilled immigrant craftsmen; Education properties which embody the distinct architectural characteristics of Danish immigrant educational properties, particularly Folk Schools.

Criterion D: Building ruins or subsurface features that have the potential to yield important information concerning the location, use, and configuration of important Danish immigrant educational properties, particularly folk schools where students were boarded on the property.

2. Integrity Considerations: For various reasons, Danish educational buildings, while once prominent fixtures on the area's landscape, are now rare. Many of those that have survived generally have also undergone some degree of modification and some have survived only because they were moved and adapted for other functions. Therefore, integrity of design, materials, and workmanship should be based on whether the structure still conveys a sense of historical time and place as well as its uniqueness in the region.

Consideration should be given to buildings that have been moved to similar settings, although greater weight should be accorded those that remain at their original location and maintain original settings and associations.

d. Eligible or Potentially Eligible Properties:

**Jackson #1 Schools, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1884 and 1923 (both are contributing properties within the Poplar Rural District being nominated with this document)

Oak Hill Danish Summer School, Oakfield Township, Audubon County, 1901

Jacksonville Public School, Jacksonville, 1907

Ic. Property Type: Buildings, structures, sites, and features associated with Danish immigrant settlement, 1865-1924: Social Culture.

a. Description: Because of the scarcity of extant physical resources associated with Danish immigrant social culture in the two county area, a typology of property types associated with this context could not be

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constructed. Only one known example of an assembly hall is extant in this area, and this building has been extensively modified through the years. The only other known property type once extant in this area was the Danish Brotherhood lodge halls and social halls in the Danish communities; however, none of these have survived except as potential archaeological sites.

- b. **Significance:** Because they fostered the maintenance of Danish cultural and social traditions through fraternal organizations and by providing a place for lectures, gymnastics, and traditional folk dancing and singing, Danish immigrant social halls are significant at the local level. State or national levels of significance could be achieved only if the property was associated with significant events or personages in the development of Danish immigrant social organizations. None of the properties in the two county area qualify at the state or national levels.

c. **Registration Requirements:**

1. **Area of Significance:**

Criterion A: Properties associated with the development of important Danish immigrant social organizations and activities.

Criterion B: Properties associated with persons who played a key role in the development of Danish immigrant social organizations.

Criterion C: Properties associated with Danish immigrant social organizations and activities that exemplify the work of an immigrant architect/designer; Properties that exemplify the work of skilled immigrant craftsmen.

Criterion D: Building ruins and subsurface features that have the potential to yield important information concerning the location, use, and configuration of important Danish immigrant social organizations and community halls.

2. **Integrity Considerations:** Only one of the known Danish immigrant social and assembly halls in the two county area survives as anything other than a potential archaeological site, and this surviving building has been extensively modified through the years. This particular property, therefore, would be potentially significant in part because of its rarity and in part because of its important historical association. However, as a general guideline, significant properties associated with this context should be considered eligible if the building still conveys a sense of historical time and place and if it still retains a majority of its original materials and design components and is sited appropriately for its historical function.

d. **Eligible or Potentially Eligible Properties:**

Assembly hall, or Gym hall, Main St., Kimballton, 1894 (remodeled into apartments)

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Rasmussen Hall, Poplar, c. 1903 (a potential component of archaeological site 13SH7, the Poplar townsite, and included within the boundaries of the Poplar Rural District being nominated with this document); should be tested for potential under Criterion D.

Id. Property Type: Buildings, structures, sites, and features associated with Danish immigrant settlement, 1865-1924: Decorative Arts.

- a. **Description:** Because of the paucity of surviving examples of Danish immigrant decorative arts in the two county area it was not possible to formulate a typology for this context. The only known examples of these arts which survive in some form in this area are examples of wood graining on the interior of a few homes and a church. Other examples once known to have existed in this area include painted murals, marbled panels, and borders.
- b. **Significance:** Examples of Danish immigrant decorative arts are significant because they exemplify Danish ethnic traditions that were transplanted to the United States. Furthermore, the rarity of the survival of such examples adds to their importance. Interior decorative paintings and early examples of wood graining are significant at the local level, and if extremely rare, or exemplify the work of an influential and important Danish immigrant artist, then they are potentially significant at the state or national levels. Generally, such examples are not eligible for nomination in their own right, but rather can be significant components of properties whose primary significance is achieved through other contextual associations. However, a property whose interior exhibits a very rare and well preserved example of a Danish decorative art, but which has a minimally preserved exterior could be potentially eligible on the basis of its significant interior.
- c. **Registration Requirements:**
- Area of Significance:**

Criterion A: Properties associated only with this context will not have significance under A.

Criterion B: Properties which exemplify the work of an important Danish immigrant artist.

Criterion C: Properties which have important interior components which exemplify Danish immigrant decorative arts.

Criterion D: Because the significance of properties associated with this context is in their survival, Criterion D does not apply.
 - Integrity Considerations:** Because it was common to paint or paper over old murals and wall paintings and to paint over or varnish interior woodwork, it is rare for examples of these Danish immigrant decorative arts to survive. The greatest significance should be attached to examples which

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survive in their original entirety, rather than remnants of murals and wood grained interiors.

d. Eligible or Potentially Eligible Properties:

*Interior of the nave of the Bethany Lutheran Church, Sharon Township, Audubon County, 1898 (original wood graining on the doors, window surrounds, and wainscoting).

Interior of main core, Erik Simonsen house, Sharon Township, Audubon County, 1879 (original wood graining on doors and window surrounds)

Ie. Property Type: Buildings, structures, features, or sites associated with Danish immigrant settlement, 1865-1924: Danish Communities.

a. Description: Two types of Danish communities are present in the two county area: incorporated and unincorporated as defined in Section E-Ie. The definition of a Danish community is based upon the concentration and persistence of a Danish immigrant population and their descendants. Incorporated communities are those which persisted to the point that incorporation could be achieved, while unincorporated communities are those which failed to achieve this stability and eventually disappeared or greatly diminished in size and commercial activity. Some Danish communities are evidenced only as archaeological sites. When the Danish unincorporated community is preserved in some form in addition to an important portion of its associated hinterlands, then an ethnic rural district potentially exists. Also, Danish incorporated communities can contain within their boundaries, residential and/or commercial districts based upon the integrity and importance of these resources as they are associated with the historical development of the ethnic community.

b. Significance: Because they represent the most cohesive unit of ethnic settlement beyond the individual household, Danish communities are significant at the local level. If that community is further associated with key events in the development of Danish immigrant communities or with key individuals in this development, or if they represent the best preserved example of a Danish immigrant community in the state or nation, then the ethnic community is potentially significant at those levels.

c. Registration Requirements:

1. Area of Significance:

Criterion A: Properties or districts directly associated with important patterns of settlement and development in Danish communities; Properties or districts which exemplify the settlement of Danish communities.

Criterion B: Properties or districts directly associated with individuals who played key or influential roles in the establishment and development of Danish communities.

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Criterion C: Properties or districts which exemplify the work of immigrant craftsmen or architect/designers important in the Danish community; Properties or districts which embody architectural characteristics distinctive to Danish immigrant communities.

Criterion D: Building ruins and subsurface features which have the potential to yield important information concerning the development, patterning, and spatial utilization of Danish communities.

2. Integrity Considerations: The integrity of the Danish community is the key to its significance because much of that significance is determined by the persistence of the Danish immigrant experience and its representative properties. If a community has undergone extensive development in the form of construction and expansion after the period of significance, then it is likely that the historic resources will have been, to some extent, adversely impacted and the potential for historic districts diminished. This is particularly true of incorporated communities, and it remains for more intensive investigation of the Danish communities of Kimballton and Elk Horn to determine the comparative state of preservation of their historic properties and whether or not residential and commercial historic districts are present. With the unincorporated Danish communities of the two county area, the structural integrity has either been destroyed or greatly impacted, although the integrity of the archaeological resources may be high. Phase I level investigations at the Poplar archaeological townsite have indicated a potential ability to yield data important to the study of ethnicity in the archaeological record; however, it remains for a Phase II level testing to determine whether or not this component is independently eligible for nomination to the National Register.

Reference should be made to the integrity table provided for houses under Ii of this section because this presents integrity consideration criteria for these buildings as they are found individually, on a farmstead, or within a district, the latter of which may have practical applications to the integrity considerations of residential districts in Danish communities.

d. Eligible or Potentially Eligible Properties:

*Poplar Rural District, Jackson and Polk townships in Shelby County and Sharon Township in Audubon County, 1884-1923 (archaeological and architectural components); should be tested and evaluated under Criterion D.

Residential and/or commercial districts in Kimballton, Audubon County, 1883-1924; needs intensive survey and evaluation of all buildings constructed during the period of significance.

Residential and/or commercial districts in Elk Horn, Shelby County, 1868-1924; needs intensive survey and evaluation of all buildings constructed during the period of significance.

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If. Property Type: Buildings, structures, sites, and features associated with Danish immigrant settlement, 1865-1924: Danish-influenced Communities.

a. Description: While the present survey did not permit an investigation of the historic resources potentially associated with Danish-influenced communities, it is expected that Danish residential neighborhoods did exist in these communities and may still be evidenced in individual residences or residential districts. Furthermore, it is expected that there could be important commercial and industrial buildings, sites, or districts associated with the Danish immigrant population of these communities (see also Section E-If).

b. Significance: Important buildings or districts associated with the Danish immigrant populations of Danish-influenced communities would be significant as the representation of that ethnic group's influence in overall community development, and further as a representation of this facet of the Danish immigrant settlement experience. Such buildings or districts are likely only significant at the local level.

c. Registration Requirements:

Because all of the aspects of the actual impact of Danish populations on Danish-influenced communities are not known from available data, specific registration requirements cannot be defined at present.

d. Eligible Properties:

For the above-noted reasons, eligible properties also cannot be identified at present.

Ig. Property Type: Buildings, structures, sites, or features associated with Danish immigrant settlement, 1865-1924: Farming Industry.

a. Description: The primary resources associated with this context are farmsteads and cooperative creameries as defined in Section E-Ig. In the two county area, extant creamery buildings are extremely rare, and the greatest potential for this resource will be in the archaeological remains of these agricultural enterprises. From the results of the present survey, Danish immigrant farmsteads were further defined by two subtypes: Hilltop Farmsteads and Hillslope Farmsteads, based upon the siting of the farmstead itself. Farmsteads themselves are comprised of a residence, barns, and residential and agricultural outbuildings within a definable boundary and functioning as a cohesive unit which is meaningful and representative of Danish immigrant rural settlement.

b. Significance: Danish immigrant cooperative creameries are significant at the local level because they represent an important contribution to the region's agricultural development and was an idea for which the immigrants brought with them from Denmark.

Danish immigrant farmsteads are significant because they represent the

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primary pattern of Danish settlement in the two county area, and as such are significant at the local level. As a cohesive unit, the farmstead can potentially provide information concerning Danish immigrant settlement patterns, ethnic influence upon agricultural development, and ethnic influences in farm building traditions and spatial patterning. In a comparative hierarchy, isolated agricultural buildings would have the least significance, with farmsteads being at the next higher level of significance, and rural districts being at the highest level of significance. The rural district is potentially significant at the local, state, and national levels.

c. Registration Requirements:

1. Area of Significance:

Criterion A: Properties associated with important aspects of the development of the Danish immigrant farming industry; Properties which reflect early Danish immigrant farming patterns.

Criterion B: Properties associated with key individuals who had a major influence in the development of the Danish immigrant cooperative creamery industry; Properties associated with individuals who played a leading, pivotal, or important role in the development of Danish rural settlement areas, if that property, such as a farmstead, is the best representation of that individual's life and contributions.

Criterion C: Farmsteads, or components thereof, that exemplify the work of immigrant architect/designers; Farmsteads that exemplify the work of skilled immigrant craftsmen; Farmsteads which embody building types or patterns associated with Danish immigrant agricultural settlement; Creameries that exemplify the work of skilled immigrant craftsmen or are rare surviving examples of this important Danish immigrant farming industry.

Criterion D: Building ruins and subsurface features that have the potential to yield important information concerning the location, use, and spatial patterning of abandoned, early Danish immigrant farmsteads or creameries.

2. Integrity Considerations: The Danish immigrant creameries in the two county area have either been destroyed or adversely impacted by moving and alterations. While the only known extant creamery building does not retain sufficient integrity to be considered eligible for the National Register, there is some potential for well preserved and significant archaeological remains of this agricultural industry. Furthermore, should surviving creamery buildings come to light with additional survey, some leeway should be given for integrity considerations because of the fragile nature of this resource and its importance to the Danish immigrant farming industry in the two county area.

The specific tables of integrity considerations provided later in this section for residences and barns should be used as guidelines for the evaluation of farmstead integrity as well, with the major emphasis on the

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presence of the historic house, barns, and outbuildings over their individual structural integrity. In general, the integrity of the farmstead as it is represented by its individual components should depend on the degree to which the original design, workmanship, and materials are still in evidence and the degree to which the farmstead as a whole still conveys a sense of historical time and place. The addition of modern metal silos, extensive pit silos, and numerous Butler or Morton buildings will seriously detract from the farmstead's integrity. If these modern intrusions outnumber the historic buildings and are placed in such a manner as to command the only vista of the farmstead site, then the farmstead's integrity has been seriously compromised if not destroyed.

d. Eligible or Potentially Eligible Properties:

*Chris Poldberg farmstead, Section 27, Jackson Township, Shelby County

*Andrew P. Hansen farmstead, Section 4, Oakfield Township, Audubon County

Erik Simonsen farmstead, south edge of Kimballton

Buck Valley Creamery, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1894 (designated as archaeological site 13SH9); needs to be evaluated under Criterion D.

West Hamlin Creamery, Hamlin Township, Audubon County, early 1900s (potential archaeological site); should be surveyed and evaluated under Criterion D.

Ih. Property Type: Buildings, structures, sites, or features associated with Danish immigrant settlement, 1865-1924: Construction Trades and Industries.

a. Description: Resources associated with the Danish immigrant influence on the construction trades and industries include buildings associated with the industries themselves, buildings constructed from the materials manufactured by these industries, and buildings constructed and designed by immigrant craftsmen (see also Section E-Ih). Buildings associated with the lumber industry include those which comprise the lumberyards themselves--lumber sheds, office building, stores, storage sheds, coal elevators, and carpentry shops. The brickyards will consist of kilns, drying sheds, chimneys, the company office, and clay pits, while the cement industry will consist primarily of a cement products factory, gravel and sand pits, and the company office. In addition, the distinctive products of these industries were constructed into the commercial and residential buildings of the ethnic settlements of Shelby and Audubon counties by skilled immigrant carpenters and masons.

b. Significance: Buildings and sites associated with the Danish immigrant construction trades and industries are important because they represent the influence of this population on the region's industrial, commercial, agricultural, and residential architecture. This includes not only the buildings and sites of these industries, but also the products manufactured by these industries and the buildings designed and constructed by Danish immigrant builders and their apprentices. Therefore, buildings and sites

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associated with the Danish-influenced lumber, brick, and cement industries and/or with skilled carpentry and masonry work are significant at the local level.

c. Registration Requirements:

1. Area of Significance:

Criterion A: Properties directly associated with important Danish immigrant construction trades and industries that were influential in the development of Danish communities and settlement areas.

Criterion B: Properties which are directly associated with individuals who played key or influential roles in the development of Danish immigrant construction trades and industries.

Criterion C: Properties which exemplify the work of an immigrant architect/designer; Properties which exemplify the work of skilled immigrant craftsmen and local building industries established by immigrants.

Criterion D: Building ruins and subsurface features that have the potential to yield important information concerning the location, use, and configuration of important Danish immigrant construction industries.

2. Integrity Considerations: The integrity of design, materials, and workmanship are of primary importance concerning buildings which are significant because they exemplify the materials and/or workmanship of immigrant building industries and craftsmen. For buildings or sites whose significance lies in their association with brickyards, lumberyards, and cement factories, the integrity of design, materials, and workmanship should be given more leeway to make concessions for alterations due to expansion or deterioration. However, the general guideline should be whether the building or buildings still convey a sense of historical time and place and whether a building retains a majority of its original materials and design components.

The integrity of location, setting, and association is of particular importance to buildings and structures whose significance lies in their association with building industries such as brickyards and cement factories. For example, the integrity of an office building of a brickyard which has been moved off site and converted into a residence would be greatly compromised.

d. Eligible or Potentially Eligible Properties:

Brick commercial buildings, Kimballton and Elk Horn, post-1909:
*Bennedsen, Boldt, and Hansen Building, Kimballton, 1913

Concrete block commercial buildings, Kimballton, post-1906, and Elk Horn, post-1907

Green Bay Lumber Company, Jacksonville, 1901

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Brick commercial blocks, Harlan, 1881-1882 (only those constructed with brick manufactured by the Sorensen brickyard in Harlan); require survey and evaluation under this context.

Ii. Property Type: Buildings, structures, sites, and features associated with Danish immigrant settlement, 1865-1924: Building Trends.

- a. **Description:** Two types of buildings trends in the Danish settlement area of Shelby and Audubon counties were investigated by the present study, those of residential and barn construction. The residential typology based upon survey results and previous investigations defined the following house types: frontier housing, gabled cottage, gabled ell, gabled double-pile, side-passage, hipped cottage, four-square, and bungalow. The barn typology, also based on survey results, defined the following barn types: transverse-frame, Midwest three-portal, Euro-American, and square hipped roof. See Section E-Ii for a detailed description of these building types.
- b. **Significance:** Houses are the primary buildings associated with specific Danish immigrants and immigrant builders. As such, they are the buildings which are most closely identified with the personal lives, talents, and accomplishments of individuals and reflect personal tastes in architectural styles as well as economic levels. The residences designed and constructed by skilled immigrant builders will, to some extent, reflect their architectural preferences in addition to showcasing their particular talents and training. Therefore, houses designed and built for Danish immigrants or by Danish immigrants and their apprentices will be significant at the local level.

Barns are the primary buildings associated with farming, the major economic activity of the Danish settlement area in Shelby and Audubon counties. As such, they evidence the European farming experience translated into the new American idiom, are instructive about the type of Danish immigrant farming operations in which they played a central role, display the skills and workmanship of immigrant craftsmen and locally produced materials, and evidence the economic successes which the immigrant farmers were enjoying after a relatively short time in this country. For these reasons, Danish immigrant barns are significant at the local level.

c. **Registration Requirements:**

1. **Area of Significance**

Criterion A: Properties associated only with this context will not have significance under A.

Criterion B: Properties associated only with this context will not have significance under B.

Criterion C: Properties that exemplify the work of a skilled immigrant craftsman; Properties that exemplify the work of builders influenced and/or trained by immigrant craftsmen; Properties that embody the characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction associated

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with Danish immigrants during this period; Properties which are a rare or unique type associated with Danish immigrant settlement; Properties that embody distinctive elements associated with a particular Danish building tradition.

Criterion D: Building ruins or subsurface remains that have the potential to yield important information concerning the location, form, and layout of early Danish immigrant residences and barns.

2. Integrity Considerations

In the two county area, houses have undergone a relatively high degree of modification, primarily involving residing and porch alterations. Additional common modifications include the removal of spindlework, brackets, and gable screens, the replacement of foundations and the construction of basements, the replacement of original windows (sometimes involving alteration of the window frame), the construction of modern additions and garage attachments to older buildings, and the enclosing of open porches. Some modifications have been necessitated by deterioration, others by natural disasters including fire and storms. Siding replacement is by far the most widespread house modification in the region, the majority of which has been replaced with materials alien to the original cladding material and board width, thus seriously compromising the integrity of design and materials. Conversely, the historic porches appear to have retained a relatively high degree of integrity in the Danish settlement area. Therefore, the question of integrity of design, materials, and workmanship should be based on whether the building still conveys a sense of historical time and place and whether it still retains a majority of its original materials and design components. Consideration of important house type characteristics should also factor into integrity decisions, particularly on the alteration or removal of porches and decorative elements. For example, with the gabled double-pile house type the presence of a porch is not a particularly important component in the design or significance of this house form. However, with other subtypes, such as the gabled ell, side-passage, and variants of the four-square, the presence of a porch which exhibits elaborate decorative design elements, reflective of the overall design and representative of the work of skilled immigrant craftsmen, is a significant component.

It was a relatively common practice to move houses, particularly in the early settlement period, but continuing into the present day. Often the integrity of location, setting, and association is destroyed or seriously compromised by such moves, although, some consideration should be given to houses that were moved to locations and settings similar to their original placement. However, greater weight should be given to those buildings which remain on their original site and maintain original settings and associations. Table F1 presents a hierarchical guide to aid in the evaluation of integrity for houses which are found as isolated buildings, on farmsteads, and within rural districts.

Barns are important only because of their ability to perform an economically useful function in the farming operation. During the twentieth century a revolution occurred in farming practices which has made

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Table F1. Integrity Considerations for Danish Immigrant Houses.

Threshold	Level of Integrity (High to Low--4 to 0)	Provide significant evidence of this and everything below it
Individual Houses	4-no changes 3-reroofed -new foundation/basement -minor loss of trim -side/rear porches enclosed -loss/enclosure of front porch, if not a significant component of type -some replacement windows, but majority intact -additions, if compatible with design and materials	-use of locally available materials -skills of immigrant craftsmen/ builders
Houses on Farmsteads	2-replacement windows, some modified frames but not majority -missing some trim -modified side and rear porches -minor loss of trim on front porch, if porch is a significant component -replacement of porch floor/foundation, if porch is a significant component	-some skills of immigrant craftsmen/builders -some use of locally available materials -success of farming operation
Houses within Rural Districts	1-resided, if compatible with original board width and type	-settlement patterns -farm siting
Houses Lacking Sufficient Integrity	0-demolished -resided with incompatible materials -majority of windows replaced and modified -moved off original site -obscuring additions of incompatible materials and design -loss or total modification of porch, if significant component -modification of original roof shape	

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the earlier barns obsolete. Therefore, they have often been greatly modified or abandoned and left to deteriorate. Finding a barn in a high state of preservation is evidence of considerable commitment and expense over many years, with little likelihood of economic return for this effort and expense. Some changes have probably been made in the interest of preservation such as upgrading the foundation with concrete and reroofing with asphalt shingles or steel and often involving the removal of the cupola. First floor renovations to the interior and door openings will usually have occurred if the building has continued to serve an economic function during the past 50 years. These are normal evolutionary changes that by themselves may not affect the overall integrity of the building. To aid in the evaluation of integrity for barns which are found as isolated buildings, on farmsteads, and within rural districts, the following levels of integrity, with designated thresholds are provided in Table F2.

Table F2. Integrity Considerations for Danish Immigrant Barns.

Threshold	Level of Integrity (High to Low--5 to 0)	Provide significant evidence of this and everything below it
Individual Barns	5-no changes	-use of locally available materials
	4-added cement floor and foundation	-skills of immigrant craftsmen/builders
	3-reroofed with cupola intact -minor door changes -loss of some trim -majority of interior intact with additions	-success of farming operation -some skills of immigrant craftsmen/builders -some use of locally available materials
Barns on Farmsteads	2-major door changes -deterioration, missing siding, some steel siding; but with one upper gable and one under eave wall intact with original siding and trim -most of interior intact with additions and renovations	-farming operations and changes in farming practices
Barns within Rural Districts	1-barn structure on original site -deteriorated or renovated -interior removed or rebuilt	-prevalence of particular types of farming operations -settlement patterns -farm siting
Barns Lacking Sufficient Integrity	0-demolished -moved off original farm site -additions, steel bins, and metal buildings obscure the structure	

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d. Eligible or Potentially Eligible Properties: Once again, those properties denoted with a single asterisk (*) are being nominated as single properties with this submittal, while those denoted with a double asterisk (**) are being nominated as contributing components of farmsteads or a rural district with this document.

- *Jens T. Larsen house, 103 Main St., Kimballton, c. 1893-1894
- *John D. Bush house, 219 N. Kilworth, Exira, c. 1873
- *Hans Koch house, south edge of Kimballton, 1908
- *Chris Larsen house, 4215 Main, Elk Horn, c. 1908
- *Nels B. Andersen house, 2105 Pleasant, Elk Horn, 1899
- **Chris Poldberg house, Section 27, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1907
- **A. P. Hansen house, Section 4, Oakfield Township, Audubon County, 1901
- **Martin Henricksen house, Section 1, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1905
- **A. M. Petersen house, Section 1, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c. 1906
- Erik Simonsen house, south edge of Kimballton, 1879
- Jens Otto Christensen house, College Ave., Elk Horn, c. 1908
- Chris N. Larsen house, 404 Reynolds, Brayton, c. 1894
- John Nissen house, Section 15, Jackson Township, Shelby County
- Richard Stewart house, Section 21, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c. 1910
- Petersen house, Section 13, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1882
- C. C. Moller second house (White Star Farm), Sharon Township, Audubon County, 1912
- Herman Hansen house, Elk Horn, 1910
- Delahoyde house, 206 S. Carthage, Exira, c. 1900
- Ole Jacobsen dugout, Jackson Township, Shelby County 1869-70 (potential archaeological site); requires survey and evaluation under Criterion D.
- Hans Nissen dugout, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c. 1873 (designated as archaeological site 13SH10); requires evaluation under Criterion D.
- *Hans J. Jorgensen barn, Kimballton, 1908

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- **Martin Henricksen barn, Section 1, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1898
- **Anders Rasmussen barn, Section 2, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1887
- **T. P. Petersen barns #1 and 2, Section 11, Jackson Township, Shelby County
- **A. P. Hansen barn #1 and 2, Section 4, Oakfield Township, Audubon County, 1894 and 1903
- **A. M. Petersen barns #1-3, Section 1, Jackson Township, Shelby County, c. 1901-1912
- **C. A. Christoffersen barn, Section 1, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1901
- **Chris Rasmussen barns #1 and 2, Section 2, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1900 and 1914
- **John Christensen/John Nelsen barn, Section 11, Jackson Township, Shelby County
- **Jens Petersen barn, Section 12, Jackson Township, Shelby County, 1899
- Swen Madsen barn, Section 12, Jackson Township, Shelby County
- Nicholas Ohms barns #1 and 2, Section 30, Jackson Township, Shelby County
- Thor Nelsen barn, Section 13, Jackson Township, Shelby County
- Peter Petersen barn, Section 9, Jackson Township, Shelby County
- Chris Petersen barn, Section 13, Jackson Township, Shelby County
- Chris Nelson barn, Section 11, Jackson Township, Shelby County
- Lars Petersen barn, Section 11, Jackson Township, Shelby County
- Erik Simonsen barns #1 and 2, south edge of Kimballton
- Nelsen barns #1 and 2, Section 20, Sharon Township, Audubon County
- Niels P. Hoegh barn #3, Section 21, Oakfield Township, Audubon County
- Edwin Larsen barn, Section 5, Oakfield Township, Audubon County
- John Nissen barn, Section 15, Jackson Township, Shelby County

IIa. Property Type: Buildings, structures, sites, and features associated with German immigrant settlement, 1872-1940s: Religious Culture.

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- a. **Description:** The full range of resources associated with the German Catholic immigrant settlement in the two county area include the church buildings, rectories, convents, parochial schools, parish/community halls, chapels, and cemeteries (see Section E-IIa). When these properties are sited within the boundaries of a platted church-owned lot, then a historic district potentially exists. Such districts can also include contributing landscape features such as ball diamonds and archaeological remains of former church buildings and objects such as shrines. German immigrant church properties may also be eligible as individual, isolated structures depending upon the importance of the church to the development of the ethnic community.
- b. **Significance:** The Catholic church district comprises the primary focal point, both physical and spiritual, for the German Catholic communities of Shelby County. The district contains not only the house of worship for the parish but the parish school as well, thus serving both the spiritual and educational needs of the community. In German Catholic-dominated communities, the Catholic church district commands the highest visual point in the town serving as a beacon for the hinterland. Its placement also reflects the predominance of the church in the communities' social, political, educational, and cultural development. Therefore, in German Catholic-dominated communities, the Catholic church district and possibly key individual buildings of importance are significant at the local level.

To a lesser extent, the Protestant churches of the two county area were also associated with German immigrant settlement. Generally, these church buildings will not be eligible unless they represent key buildings associated with a cohesive and persistent German Protestant settlement.

- c. **Registration Requirements:**
1. **Area of Significance:**

Criterion A: Properties or districts associated with churches that had a major influence on the development of German immigrant communities.

Criterion B: Properties or districts associated with individuals who played a leading, pivotal, or important role in the establishment, design, or development of German immigrant religious communities.

Criterion C: Religious properties or districts important to the development of German immigrant communities and that exemplify the work of an Iowa architect/designer or a German immigrant architect/designer; Religious properties or districts that exemplify the work of German immigrant craftsmen and local building trades and industries; Religious properties or districts that embody the architectural characteristics of German immigrant religious properties/districts and that convey their influence through a physical and visual dominance of the ethnic community.

Criterion D: Building ruins, cemeteries, and subsurface features that have the potential to yield important information concerning the location, use, and spatial arrangement of German immigrant religious properties,

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particularly of their first generation configuration, and genealogical and socio-cultural information concerning the parish congregation.

Criteria Considerations:

Exception A: If German immigrant religious properties derive their primary significance from their historical importance as the dominant and influential element in the origins, development, and persistence of German immigrant settlements, then such properties are considered eligible for the National Register.

Exception D: Because cemeteries can be an important component of German Catholic Church districts and derive their primary significance from this association, in addition to possessing distinctive design features, such cemeteries are considered eligible for the National Register.

2. Integrity Considerations: Because the anchor of the Catholic church district, and its very reason for being, is the church itself, the survival of the primary historic church building is the major consideration in the determination of a district's integrity. Alterations are inevitable to masonry structures because of deterioration. Therefore, integrity of design, materials, and workmanship should be based on whether the primary historic church building still conveys a sense of historical time and place. Emphasis should be further placed on the exterior integrity rather than the interior as most of the Catholic churches were extensively remodeled or redecorated during the 1960s under Vatican II.

The integrity of the district also should be based on the number and condition of the primary associative buildings or structures on church property. The primary associative buildings include the parochial school, the rectory, and the convent. Secondary associative structures and features include the chapels, parish hall, cemetery, and archaeological remains of former associative buildings. The presence of secondary associative structures and features adds to the integrity and significance of the district but are not required. The integrity of location and setting is also of importance, particularly since the Catholic churches were most often sited on the highest points in Catholic dominated communities. Churches and associative buildings which have been moved are therefore less significant than those that remain on their original site and in their original associations.

The integrity considerations for significant individual religious buildings should be at a higher level than those for the contributing components of a significant church district. Specifically, the historic church building should be on its original site and have undergone few modifications. Acceptable levels of change include the following: a new foundation/ basement, if the structure is not raised significantly higher than it was originally; reroofing; compatible additions, if they do not obscure the original building; and replacement windows, if the window frames are not modified. It is often the case that a congregation will replace the original clear window panes with stained glass windows when they can afford it or when memorial funds are given for this purpose.

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d. Eligible or Potentially Eligible Properties:

*St. Boniface Catholic Church District, Westphalia, c. 1874-1941

St. Joseph's Catholic Church District, Earling, 1889-1912

St. Peter's Catholic Church, Defiance, 1928

St. Peter's Community Hall, Defiance, 1935

IIb. Property Type: Buildings, structures, sites, and features associated with German immigrant settlement, 1872-1940s: Social Culture.

- a. Description: The primary resource associated with this context would be the social hall of German immigrant communities, such as those of the Turnverein Society. There are no known examples in the two county area, therefore, further description cannot be given at present. It is expected that investigations of German settlements in other areas of Iowa will be able to expand the data base and formulate a typology.
- b. Significance: For the above-noted reason, significance considerations cannot be formulated from the present level of knowledge concerning this potential resource.
- c. Registration Requirements: Likewise, registration requirements cannot be enumerated at this point.
- d. Eligible or Potentially Eligible Properties: There are no such extant properties known in the two county area.

IIc. Property Type: Buildings, structures, sites, and features associated with German immigrant settlement, 1872-1940s: Farming Industry.

- a. Description: It is likely that future investigations will identify a full range of resources associated with this context; however, despite a concerted and focused survey effort to record resources associated with German immigrant farming in the two county area, only a few remnants were found and recorded. The small sample population precluded the formulation of a typology.
- b. Significance: The importance of farming to the German immigrant settlements of Shelby and Audubon counties was substantial. While the attraction of the Catholic Church was the primary impetus for the concentrated and persistent German immigrant settlement in Shelby County, agriculture was the primary occupation of these settlers. Intact German immigrant farmsteads or major, important agricultural outbuildings would, therefore, be potentially significant at the local level.
- c. Registration Requirements: Because of the paucity of extant resources recorded in association with this context, registration requirements cannot be formulated from the present level of knowledge.

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d. **Eligible or Potentially Eligible Properties:** There are no eligible or potentially eligible properties associated with German immigrant farming as yet recorded in the two county area.

IIId. **Property Type:** Buildings, structures, sites, and features associated with German immigrant settlement, 1872-1940s; Construction Trades and Industries.

a. **Description:** The present survey identified the following resources associated with German immigrant construction trades and industries: lumberyards and the buildings constructed by German immigrant carpenters (see Section E-IIId). The lumberyards potentially consist of the lumber shed, an office building, secondary storage sheds, and a coal elevator. It is likely that future investigations will identify a full range of resources associated with this context, potentially including the archaeological remains of German immigrant brickyards and the identification of buildings constructed from these locally manufactured materials.

b. **Significance:** These properties are potentially significant at the local level as important remnants of the influence of the German immigrant building industry in the two county area. This influence was particularly strong and important in the lumber and carpentry trades.

c. **Registration Requirements:**

1. **Area of Significance:**

Criterion A: Properties that are directly associated with important German immigrant construction trades and industries which were influential in the growth and development of German immigrant communities.

Criterion B: Properties that are directly associated with key individuals who played leading, pivotal, or important roles in the development of important German immigrant construction trades and industries.

Criterion C: Properties which exemplify the work of a German immigrant architect/designer; Properties which exemplify the work of skilled German immigrant craftsmen and the influence of the local building industries developed by immigrants.

Criterion D: Building ruins and subsurface features that have the potential to yield important information concerning the location, use, and configuration of important German immigrant construction industries.

2. **Integrity Considerations:** The integrity of design, materials, and workmanship are of primary importance concerning buildings which are significant because they exemplify the materials and/or workmanship of building industries and craftsmen. For buildings or sites whose significance lies in their association with brickyards or lumberyards, the integrity of design, materials, and workmanship should be given more leeway to make concessions for alterations due to expansion or deterioration. However, the general guideline should be whether the building or buildings

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still convey a sense of historical time and place and whether a building retains a majority of its original materials and design components.

The integrity of location, setting, and association is of particular importance to buildings and structures whose significance is derived from their association with building industries such as lumberyards. The integrity of an associated building which has been moved off site and converted into another function would be greatly compromised.

d. Eligible or Potentially Eligible Properties:

*J. C. Heese Lumber Shed, Earling, 1886

Defiance Lumber Company lumber shed, Defiance, 1890s

*George Rewerts House, Defiance, 1902

IIe. Property Type: Buildings, structures, sites, and features associated with German immigrant settlement, 1872-1940s: Building Trends.

- a. Description: At present the recorded sample of buildings associated with German immigrant settlement in Shelby and Audubon counties is not large enough to formulate an effective typology. Some general typological observations from this sample included correlations with the Danish building trends typology for houses, with the majority being of the gabled ell house type as well as some variations which, from preliminary observations, appeared to be unique to the German settlement area (see Section E-IIe).
- b. Significance: Because a more extensive range of potential resources associated with German immigrant building trends is not available at this time, the significance of the recorded buildings has to be evaluated on an individual building by building basis.
- c. Registration Requirements: Until the important building trends of the German immigrant settlement area can be defined, the potential significance of properties associated with such trends cannot be evaluated except as individual buildings significant for associations with other, better defined contexts including religious properties and those associated with construction trades and industries.
- d. Eligible or Potentially Eligible Properties: From the present level of knowledge, none of the recorded houses and barns can be nominated from this context. Rather, those that are being nominated with this document are being done so under other contexts associated with the German immigrant settlement in the two county area. It remains for future investigations to fully define the German immigrant building trends of the region and amend this document to reflect the findings.

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III. Property Type: Buildings, structures, sites, and features associated with Ethnic Influence on the Architecture of Shelby and Audubon Counties, the Danish Immigrant Case Study, 1865-1924.

Some preliminary observations were made concerning potential ethnic influence on the architecture of the Danish settlement area of Shelby and Audubon counties based on the results of the present investigation. These observations are tentative and require more extensive and intensive architectural survey and analysis before firm conclusions can be drawn in this area of study. Therefore, the context is presented as an incentive for future investigations from which property types, registration requirements, and eligible resources associated with this context will then be defined (see Section E-III).

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G: SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

The multiple property listing of historic and architectural resources associated with the ethnic historic settlement of Shelby and Audubon counties is based on a 1990 survey conducted under the auspices of the Iowa Bureau of Historic Preservation under a grant-in-aid agreement known as the Preservation Partnership program. The project team consisted of Leah D. Rogers, Project Director, and Roslea Johnson, Project Assistant. Ms. Rogers holds a M. A. in Anthropology from Michigan State University, East Lansing. Ms. Johnson holds a M. S. in Sociology and studies in Anthropology from the University of Kentucky, Lexington. She has previously completed a multiple property National Register nomination on the stone buildings of Madison County, Iowa, while Ms. Rogers has a background in historical archaeology and directed the previous Preservation Partnership in Monona and Woodbury counties.

The archival research, from which the historical context was constructed, primarily covered the history of the two county area, but necessarily included a brief investigation of the ethnic settlement of the state as a whole. Therefore, while the theoretical limits of the survey can be expanded to include ethnic settlement in the state of Iowa, the focus and survey area of the present investigation was on the ethnic settlement of Shelby and Audubon counties. Ms. Rogers and Johnson were aided in this investigation by a number of volunteers in the two county area who devoted over a thousand hours to archival research and field survey. Figures G1 and G2 show the location of all properties recorded by the ethnic survey. The properties recorded that are specifically related to the ethnic settlement totaled 326 buildings, structures, and archaeological sites are itemized by property type in Table G1.

Each building was photographed and recorded to the reconnaissance level of documentation. Physical attributes were described on Residential, Commercial, and Barn forms developed specifically for the project, but based on the Iowa Bureau of Historic Preservation Site Inventory Forms (Figures G3-5). All information from the project survey instruments was transferred to the state forms. A minimum of 75 buildings were further recorded to the intensive level of documentation. Evaluations of significance or potential significance were recorded on the Iowa Site Inventory Forms. Site-specific archival research included a review of available published and unpublished historical materials located in the public libraries, state libraries, local historical museums, county courthouses, and private collections. These materials included county, local, family, and general histories; local and county newspaper collections; insurance records and maps; property abstracts; assessor's records; naturalization records; family genealogies; historic photographs; census records; gazetteers; atlases and plat books; blueprints; and school, church, and cemetery records. Where possible, the materials of the Dana and Grand View college archives were utilized and informal oral history interviews were conducted. The site-specific research was conducted in part by Ms. Rogers and Johnson but in a larger part by property owners and local volunteers. The primary core of this group was comprised of genealogists who were experienced with their county and local resources. The investigation was further aided by the tremendous amount of historical data and photographs already compiled by local participants for town and county centennial book projects. All site

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Table G1. Ethnic Properties Recorded During 1990 Survey.

Property Type	Number	Property Type	Number
Danish Immigrant Settlement:		German Immigrant Settlement:	
Religious Culture:		Religious Culture:	
Churches	4	Catholic Churches	4
Parsonages	1	Parochial Schools	4
Archaeological Site	1	Catholic Rectories	3
Educational Culture:		Parish Halls	3
Summer School	1	Convent	1
Public Schools	3	Catholic Chapel	1
Social Culture:		Protestant Churches	3
Assembly Hall	1	Social Culture:	0
Decorative Arts:	3*	Farming:	5*
Danish Communities:		Construction Trades/ Industries:	
Archaeological Site	1	Lumberyards	2
Rural District	1*	Building Trends:	
Influenced Communities:	0	Houses	37
Farming:		Barns	6
Farmsteads	46*		
Creameries	1	Non-Danish/German Ethnic Properties:	
Archaeological Sites	2	Houses	4
Construction Trades/Industries:		Barns	13
Lumber Company	1		
Commercial Buildings	29		
Archaeological Site	1		
Building Trends:			
Residential:			
Frontier Housing	3		
Gabled Cottage	3		
Gabled Ell	28		
Gabled Double-Pile	19		
Side-Passage	15		
Hipped Cottage	9		
Four-Square	22		
Bungalow	7		
Aberrations**	3		
Barns:			
Transverse-Frame	22		
Three-Portal	12		
Euro-American	10		
Square Hipped Roof	1		
Other	15		
Outbuildings:	30		

* = Number not included in calculation of total.
** = Includes Danish residences that have been extensively modified to the point that their original form is not recognizable.

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inventory forms and related material generated by this project are housed at the Iowa Bureau of Historic Preservation.

Local volunteers also aided in the compilation of population census data on the nativity of the heads-of-households for various years and correlating and coding these data with the landowners listed on available historic plat maps of both counties. These data were then compiled into maps which show the general trends and concentrations of ethnic settlement from the 1880s-1910s or 1920s.

The field and archival investigations were aided by two previous ethnic investigations in the two county area. The first of these was the dissertation of Signe T. Betsinger, who examined Danish design influences in the housing and furnishings of the Kimballton area. That study was conducted in 1969-70 and proved to be a tremendous source for oral historical and architectural data. Many of the persons that she talked to, and a number the structures that she examined, are now gone. To a certain extent, the present investigation would have been impossible without this previous study. Dr. Betsinger also graciously shared in her personal recollections of that investigation and provided further insights into potential Danish design influences. The second of the previous investigations was a study conducted by Thomas Carter, in association with Gary Christensen, of the domestic architecture in the Elk Horn and Kimballton vicinity. That study, conducted in 1987, was valuable for its identification of some of the house types present in the region as well as for its initial analysis of potential ethnic influences. Mr. Christensen also shared unpublished data including the results of a windshield survey that he had previously conducted in the rural areas of the Elk Horn/Kimballton vicinity and served as an assistant on the 1990 investigation.

The geographical field coverage was discontinuous except for its confinement within the legal boundaries of Shelby and Audubon counties. The constraints of the project did not permit 100% survey coverage of the two county area. Therefore, survey efforts were focused on those areas where definable ethnic groups concentrated in large enough numbers to have had a long-term impact on the development of the region. Two ethnic groups, the Danes and the Germans, did have a persistent, concentrated, discernible presence in the two county area and thus received the majority of survey time and effort. However, in order to meet the project scope-of-work, the contributions and potential properties associated with other ethnic groups were considered and examined where time permitted. It became apparent that while other ethnic groups had certainly contributed to the historical development of the two county area, their influence on the architecture and sites of the region was nearly impossible to define within the constraints of the present project. The most obvious ethnic influences were associated with the Germans and the Danes, and given the limits of the project, these groups necessarily had to receive the greatest amount of attention. The multiple property document was written to accommodate the addition of other ethnic groups for areas in Iowa where those groups constituted a major influence. It is hoped that future investigations will expand upon this document.

The field survey began with the recording of buildings in Kimballton and Westphalia as these areas represented the core of the Danish and German settlements of the region. The survey then expanded to include those properties

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noted by Gary Christensen's previous windshield survey as properties worthy of closer examination in Elk Horn and in portions of Clay, Oakfield, Sharon, Jackson, and Monroe townships which comprise the primary Danish settlement area in both counties. An additional survey element involved the checking of the present condition of all those properties recorded in Betsinger's 1970 dissertation. Those properties with sufficient integrity were then recorded by the present survey. Windshield surveys conducted by simple drive-bys were conducted throughout the project and identified a number of properties which were then either recorded or were designated as worthy of recording by future investigations. Figure G6 illustrates the coverage of the windshield survey efforts in both counties. Other properties were added to the recording process through archival research and local informants. Some properties were recorded simply because of local interest and were unrelated to the ethnic settlement theme. Those properties are not enumerated in the multiple property document nor included in the definition of property types.

Unexpectedly, during the course of the project the opportunity presented itself to expand the survey effort to Denmark. Project Assistant Roslea Johnson, through an interest stemming from her participation in the ethnic survey, opted to spend her vacation in Denmark in May of 1991. Because so many immigrants had come from Lintrup Parish and the Island of Aero, she chose to conduct a windshield survey as thorough as possible in these concentrated geographic areas. The coverage of this survey effort is illustrated in Figure G7. Churches and farmsteads known to have been associated with immigrants to Shelby and Audubon counties were photographically recorded but were not enumerated in Table G1 nor included in the definition of property types.

The survey efforts concerning the Danish settlement of the two county area primarily concentrated on Jackson, Clay, Sharon, and Oakfield townships and the communities of Kimballton, Elk Horn, Jacksonville, Brayton, and Exira, while the German settlement surveys concentrated on the communities of Westphalia, Portsmouth, Earling, Defiance, and Panama and the farmsteads of Westphalia Township. It is recognized that the German and Danish settlements extended into other towns and townships, and where possible, potential properties were examined in those areas; however, time did not permit complete survey coverage of all potential and known ethnic settlement areas. It is hoped that the level of interest in the two county area will result in a 100% survey as a result of future investigations.

On farmsteads, houses and barns were recorded more extensively than other outbuildings. For the latter, their presence, location, and function were noted, with a few specialized buildings recorded in more detail. Sketch maps of the layout of all farmsteads were made. In general, all buildings were recorded as to present condition, modifications, construction materials, form, decorative details, and history, where available. Interior construction details of barns were noted except where owner permission could not be obtained. House floor plans were completed only for those properties being nominated.

The historical context was developed principally from a review of published literature, supplemented with unpublished accounts, oral history, and historic photograph collections. Contexts dealt with immigration and immigrants primarily because dealing with possible ethnic influences associated with the second and third generations was beyond the scope and constraints of the

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project. Property types were developed from the context and the results of the field survey. Integrity considerations and registration requirements were formulated on the basis of existing properties in the survey area.

The 13 properties and two districts nominated with this multiple property listing represent only a small portion of the buildings and sites in Shelby and Audubon counties that are potentially eligible for nomination to the National Register. Figure G8 shows the location of the 15 properties being nominated with this submittal. These properties were selected because they were among the best candidates, from the survey results, to demonstrate the relationship between ethnic settlement and the physical resources of the settlement areas, and because there was a demonstrated interest on the part of local participants and property owners to have these properties nominated. The survey results provided a listing of a number of potential properties far exceeding the minimum number required by the project. The final selections were then made based on owner consent and local interest. One property, the Nels B. Andersen House in Elk Horn, was nominated with an owner objection and therefore can only be determined eligible and not listed on the Register at this time.

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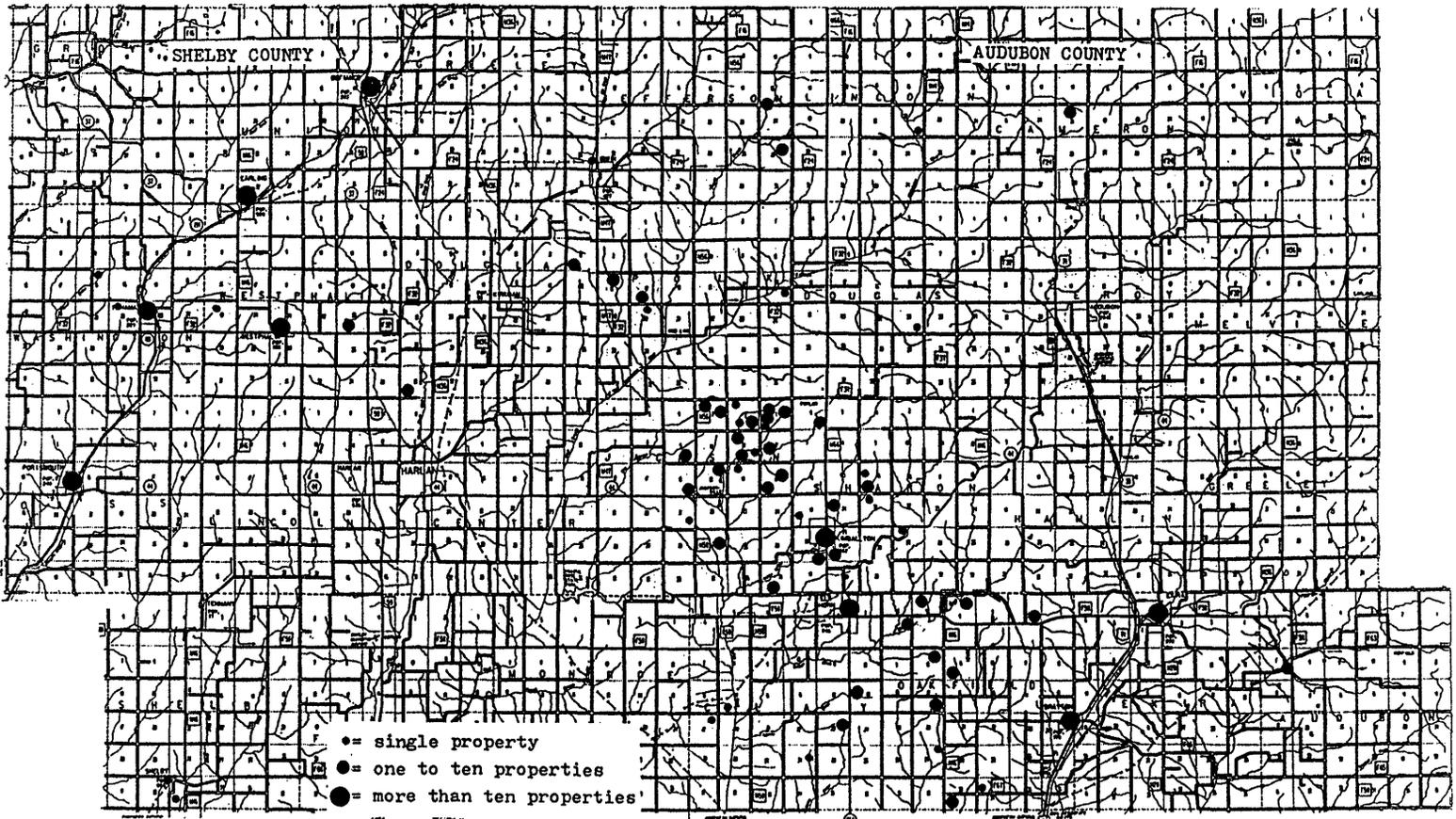


Figure G1. Location of Architectural Properties Recorded by the Ethnic Survey in Shelby and Audubon Counties.

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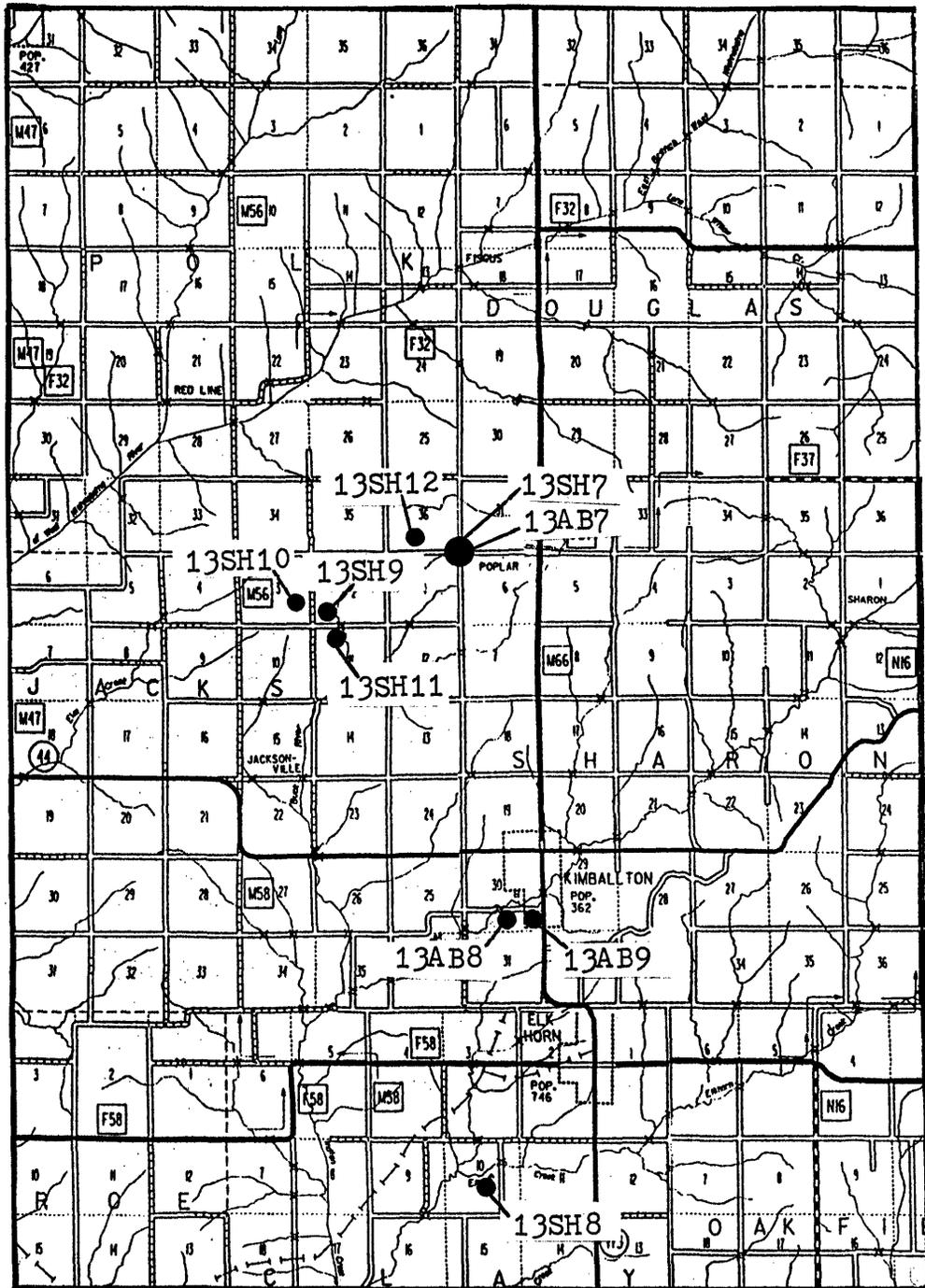


Figure G2. Location of Archaeological Sites Recorded by the Ethnic Survey of Shelby and Audubon Counties.

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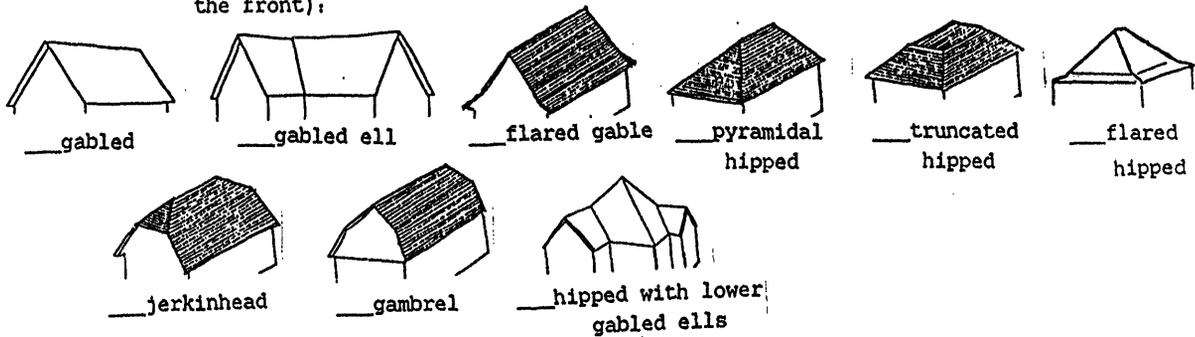
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RESIDENTIAL (Windshield Survey)

Common Name: _____ Survey Number _____
Address: _____ City: _____ County: _____
Legal Location (if rural): _____ Township _____ Range _____ Section _____ 1/4 of _____ 1/4
Owner: _____ Phone # _____

1. House Shape (check one): U T L cross H square
 rectangular irregular
2. Elevation (check one): 1 1.5 2 2.5 3 stories
3. Roof Shapes and Placement of Windows and Doors (Check appropriate roof shape and draw on the location of the windows, doors, and dormers on the front):



4. Roof Pitch (check one): Low  Normal  Steep 
5. Roof and Wall Elaborations (check all that are present on house):
 roof ridge cresting bargeboards brackets cupola tower
 decorative woodwork cornice returns wainscotting dentils
 other (explain): _____
6. Siding (check all that are present): brick stone clapboard
 horizontal siding vertical siding board and batten stucco
 shingle siding concrete block rusticated concrete block
 aluminum siding vinyl siding wainscotting asbestos siding
 other (explain): _____

Figure G3. Residential Survey Form.

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RESIDENTIAL (Intensive Survey)

Common Name: _____ Survey Number: _____

1. Roofing material (check one): wood shingles asphalt shingles
 slate metal other (explain): _____

2. Foundation material (check one): brick stone concrete block
 rusticated concrete block poured concrete other: _____

3. Roof and Wall Elaborations (check all that are present):

a. roof ridge cresting at apex roof ridge cresting on porch
 cupola widow's walk balustrade finials lightning rod

b. corner turret side turret

c. corner tower entry tower side tower 
 rectangular tower rounded tower octagonal tower
 1 story 1.5 story 2 story 3 story tower

d. bargeboards (check type present or draw):



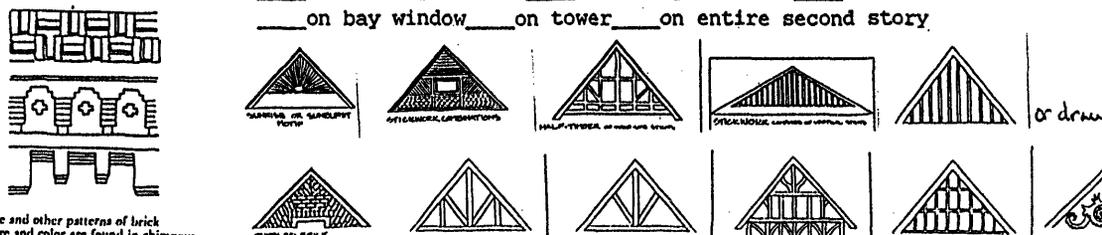
e. gable screens (check type present or draw):



f. brackets/modillion blocks (check type and location): on tower
 under roof eaves under porch eaves on bay window



g. decorative woodwork/brick corbeling (check type and location):
 on front gable end on side gable ends on dormers
 on bay window on tower on entire second story



These and other patterns of brick texture and color are found in chimneys and in masonry walls

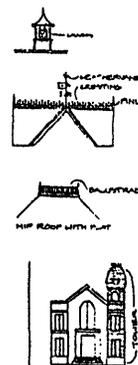


Figure G3. Cont'd.

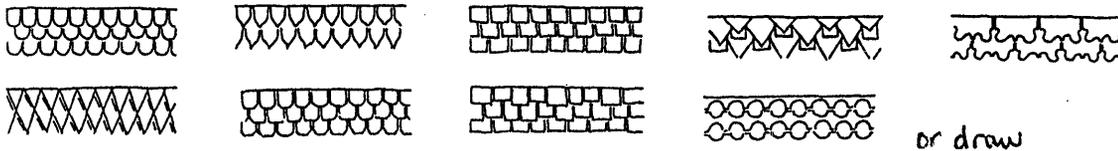
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4. If house has shingle siding, where is it located?
___ gable ends ___ dormers ___ entire second story ___ entire wall
___ as beltcourse (between 1st/2nd fl.) ___ other (explain): _____

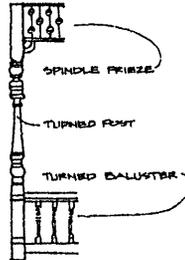
5. What type of shingle siding? (check all that are present or draw):



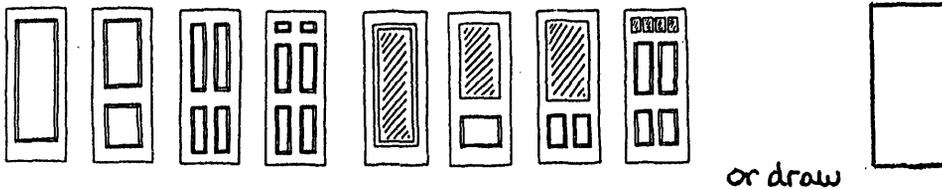
6. Location of chimneys (check all that apply): ___ gable ends ___ central
___ end-wall ___ brick chimney ___ metal woodstove pipe ___ stone chimney
___ corbeled cap ___ chimney pots ___ other (explain): _____

7. Porch elaborations (check all that are present):

- a. ___ turned spindleposts ___ square wooden posts ___ brick posts
___ metal posts ___ round wooden posts ___ concrete posts
- b. ___ full height column ___ half-height column on brick base
___ half-height column/wood base ___ half-height column/cement base
- c. ___ turned balusters ___ other balusters ___ brackets ___ latticework
___ spindle frieze ___ wainscotting ___ other (explain): _____



8. Entry door elaborations (check or draw all that are present):



9. Window elaborations (check all that are present):

- a. ___ leaded glass ___ stained glass ___ etched glass ___ beveled glass
___ side lights ___ transom ___ fan light ___ decorative surrounds
___ other (explain): _____
- b. If the above are present where are they located?: ___ front windows
___ dormer windows ___ side windows ___ bay windows ___ front door
___ other (explain): _____

10. Scale of house (check one): ___ small ___ normal ___ large

11. Construction date: _____ Architect: _____ Builder: _____

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12. Draw floor plan of the house (show location of porches, bay windows, doors, windows, nearest street, width and depth in feet, and cardinal direction):

13. Position of house on landscape (check one): hilltop slope flat
Draw layout of house on lot and location of nearest street and related outbuildings:

14. Integrity (check one): original site moved
a. If moved, when and from where: _____
b. alterations/modifications (explain what and when done if you can):

15. Notes on site history: _____

16. Sources of information: _____

17. Form prepared by: _____ Date: _____
Address: _____ Telephone: _____

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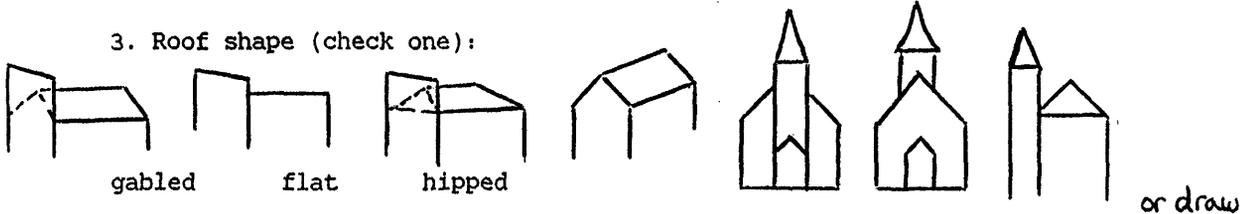
COMMERCIAL (Windshield Survey)

Common Name: _____ Survey Number _____
Address: _____ City: _____ County: _____
Legal Location (if rural): ___ Township ___ Range ___ Section ___ 1/4 of ___ 1/4
Owner: _____ Phone # _____

1. Building shape (check one): ___ rectangular ___ square ___ other: _____

2. Elevation (check one): ___ 1 ___ 1.5 ___ 2 ___ 2.5 ___ 3 stories

3. Roof shape (check one):



4. Wall construction (check all that apply): ___ stone ___ brick veneer
___ load-bearing brick ___ clapboard ___ shingle siding ___ vertical siding
___ smooth concrete block ___ rusticated concrete block ___ tile blocks
___ asphalt sheet ___ pressed metal ___ other (explain): _____

5. Facade (draw placement of windows and doors):



6. Wall elaboration (check all that apply): ___ brick corbeling
___ pressed metal cornice ___ beltcourse ___ stringcourse ___ molded cornice
___ cast iron columns ___ brackets ___ dentils ___ pilasters ___ coping
___ metal beam with decorative buttons ___ other (explain): _____

7. Tower location and elaboration (check all that apply): ___ entry tower
___ side tower ___ steeple on tower ___ 1 story tower ___ 1.5 story tower
___ 2 story tower ___ other (explain): _____

8. Alterations/modifications: _____

9. Notes on site history: _____

10. Sources of information: _____

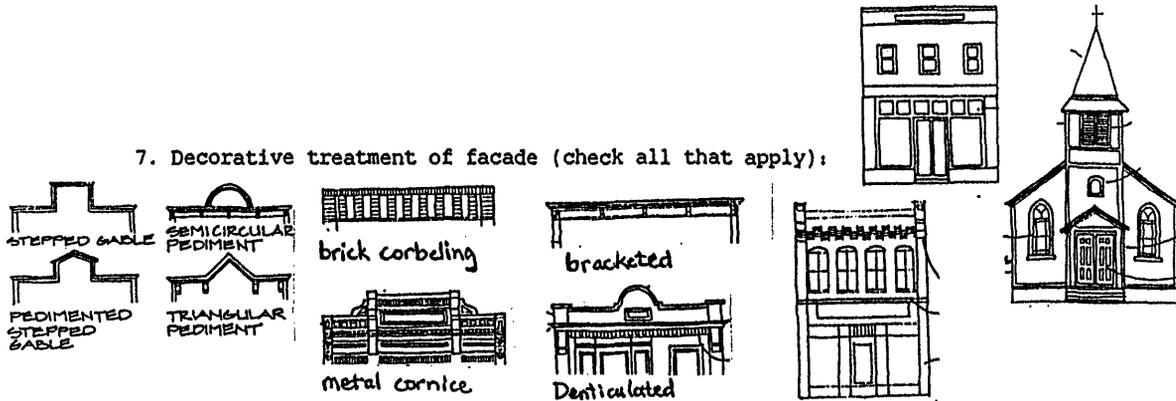
11. Form prepared by: _____ Date: _____
Address: _____ Telephone: _____

Figure G4. Commercial Survey Form.

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8. Locations of chimneys (check all that apply): rear sides central
 brick concrete block metal woodstove pipe corbeled cap

9. Interior details (note original items that remain such as pressed metal ceilings, bank vaults, decorative woodwork, altarpieces, murals, statuary, decorative moldings, pews, stages, etc.): _____

10. Integrity: on original site moved
a. If moved, when and from where?: _____
b. Alterations/modifications (note what and when done if known): _____

11. Historic and present use of basement: _____

12. Historic and present use of upper floors: _____

13. Historic and present use of main floor: _____

14. Additional notes on site history: _____

15. Sources of information: _____

16. Form prepared by: _____ Date: _____
Address: _____ Telephone: _____

Figure G4. Cont'd.

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COMMERCIAL (Intensive Survey)

Common Name: _____ Survey Number _____

1. Roofing material (check one): composition tar tarpaper
 asphalt shingles wood shingles metal roll asphalt roll
2. Foundation (check one): brick stone poured concrete
 tile block concrete block rusticated concrete block
 other (explain): _____
3. Scale of building (check one): small normal large
4. Draw the floor plan (show additions, windows, doors, nearest street, width and depth measurements in feet, and cardinal direction):

5. Draw position of building on lot relative to the street, neighboring buildings, and related outbuildings:

6. Window

elaborations (check all that apply):

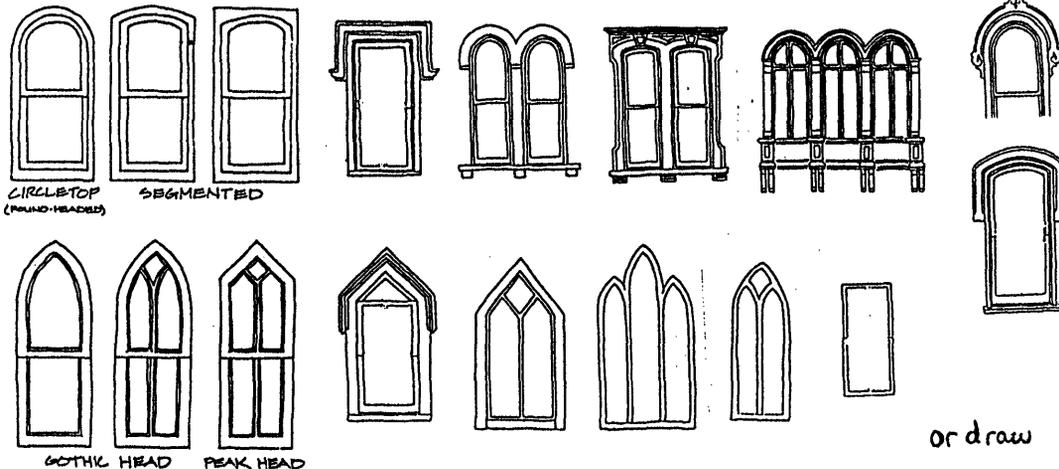


Figure G4. Cont'd.

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Property Characteristic Form - BARN (Windshield Survey)

Owner _____

Survey ID Number _____

Location/Address: _____ Post Office: _____ County _____
Legal Description: _____ Township Range Section Quarter of Quarter
_____ of _____

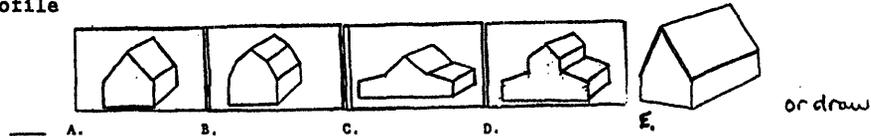
History of the Barn

Construction Date _____ Based on: Datestone _____ Documents _____ Common Knowledge _____
Visual Guess _____ Other (specify) _____

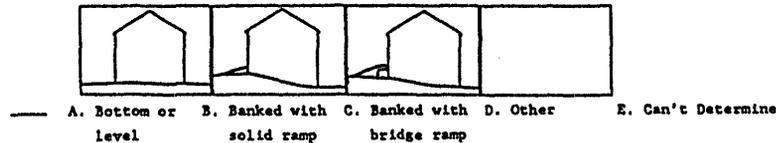
Original Use of Barn: Horse _____ Dairy _____ General Purpose _____ Other _____

General Features

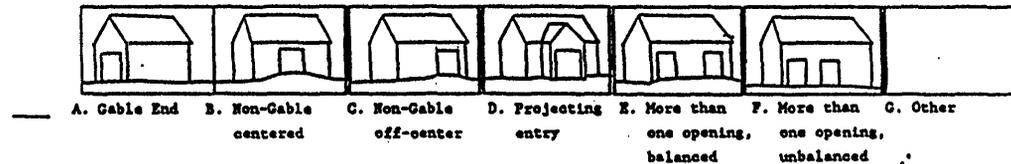
Roof Profile



Relationship to the Surrounding Terrain



Location of Door Opening(s) to Main Barn Floor



Does the barn have its original cupola/metal aerator?
Yes _____ No _____ replaced in the year _____ Never had one _____

Number of Levels (not including loft): One _____ Two _____ Three _____

Construction Features

Foundation Materials
Stone _____ Concrete Block _____ Poured Concrete _____ Wood _____ Other _____

First Story Wall Material: Clay Tile _____ Stone _____ Cement Block _____
Vertical Wood Siding _____ Horizontal Wood Siding _____ Other _____

Second Story Wall Material: Clay Tile _____ Stone _____ Cement Block _____
Vertical Wood Siding _____ Horizontal Wood Siding _____ Other _____

Roof Material: Asphalt Shingles _____ Wood Shingles _____ Metal _____
Other _____

Figure G5. Barn Survey Form.

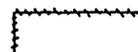
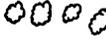
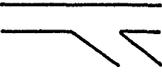
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Sketch of Farmstead Layout.
Please sketch a rough diagram of the farmyard. Our interest is in the general relationship of the farm buildings to one another. The symbols below are suggested ways of indicating different elements in the farmyard.

^ Indicate where the hilltops and slopes are located.

	House	H	KEY		
	Barn	B	Buildings		
N	Hog House	HH	Presently Standing	No Longer Standing	
	Chicken House	CH			
	Silo	S			
	Granary	G	Fences and Gates	Windbreaks	Individual Trees or Orchards
	Corn Crib	CC			
	Machine Shed	MS	Roads and Drives	Pond	Windmill
	Other Buildings	O			
	Bake Oven	OV			
	Smokehouse	SH			
	Sauna	SA			
	Privy	P			
	Cellar (cave)	C			
	Dugout	D			
	Sod House	SO			

Please use the space below for comments and information about the barn's history or about its unusual or unique features.

Sources of Information

Prepared by _____ Date _____
Address _____ Telephone _____

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CFN 259-1404

Property Characteristic Form - BARN (Intensive Survey)

Survey ID Number _____

Builder: Owner Carpenter/Builder Other

Name of Builder/Manufacturer _____

Source of Barn Design/Plan _____

Manufacturer of Barn Stalls/Pens/Watering Apparatus _____

Is it presently in use?

Yes, for: Dairy Hogs General Purpose Other _____

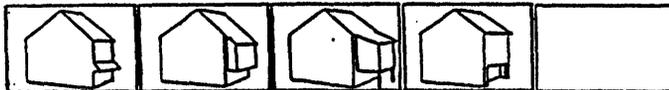
No, it was taken out of use in the year 19____.

Additions or Sheds



A. None B. One Side C. Two Sides D. Three Sides E. Four Sides F. Can't Determine

Extensions (Shelter/Weather Protection/Storage)



A. Pent Roofed Forebay B. Cantilevered Forebay C. Supported Forebay D. Recessed E. Other F. Can't Determine

Location of Loft Entry Door (for loading hay via horse fork)

Inside the Barn Outside at Gable End Outside on Long Side

If the barn has an interior silo, is it constructed of:

Clay Tile Wood Concrete Stone Other _____

Barn Dimensions (of main portion in feet: Width _____ Length _____)

Number of bays comprising the barn's length: _____ This refers to the space between each cross-section (or "bent") of the structural frame which is made up of the main posts or columns that support each roof truss above (see Attachment "A").

Type of Interior Wall Framing

- Heavy timber with interlocking (mortise and tenon) joints in which wood pegs connect posts, beams, and rafters.
- Plank frame in which standard dimension lumber no larger than 2 by 12 inches are used singly or are doubled and trebled to obtain the necessary strength required.
- Other (please describe) _____

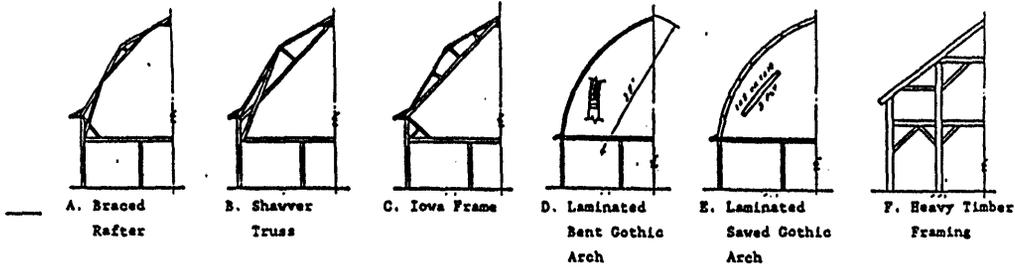
Space (in feet) Between the Roof Trusses _____

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Type of Barn Roof Framing



If "F - Heavy Timber Framing" is checked in item #8, please sketch in the space below the way that the "bent" is constructed (see examples in Attachment "A"). A bent is a combination of interlocking timbers that forms a truss. This truss, or rigid framework, defines the cross section of a building.

Please sketch basic features of the interior floor layout in the space provided below (see Attachment "B" for examples of such drawings).

Do you have old photographs of the barn from which we could make copies: Yes No

Please use the space below for comments and information about the barn's history or about its unusual or unique features (Note any decorative treatment on walls, windows, doors, roof, or cupolas)

Sources of Information

If you know of any other barns like yours in the immediate vicinity, please give their location(s): _____

Prepared by _____ Date _____
Address _____ Telephone _____

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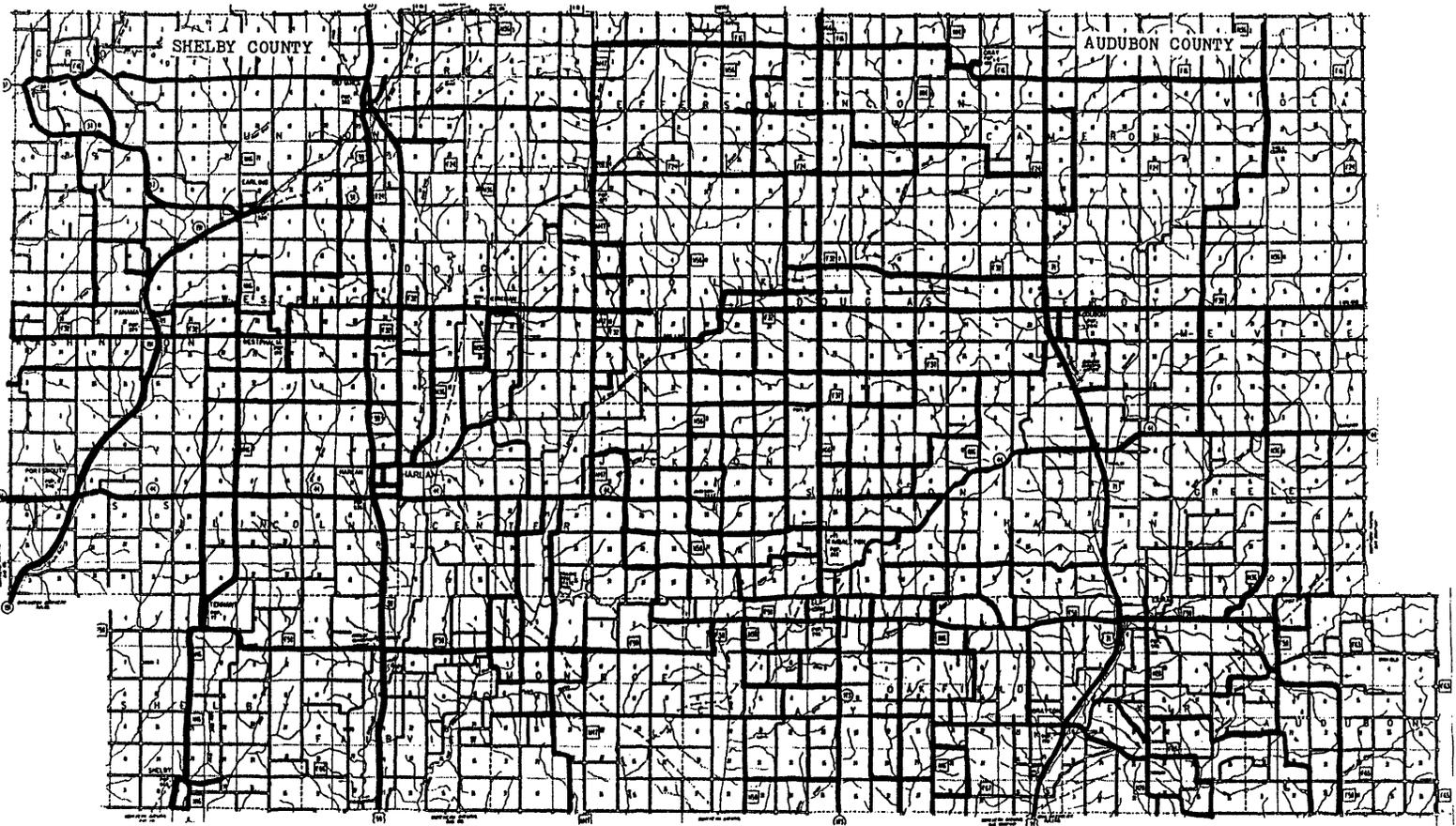


Figure G6. Map Showing Roads Included in Windshield Survey Effort in Shelby and Audubon Counties.

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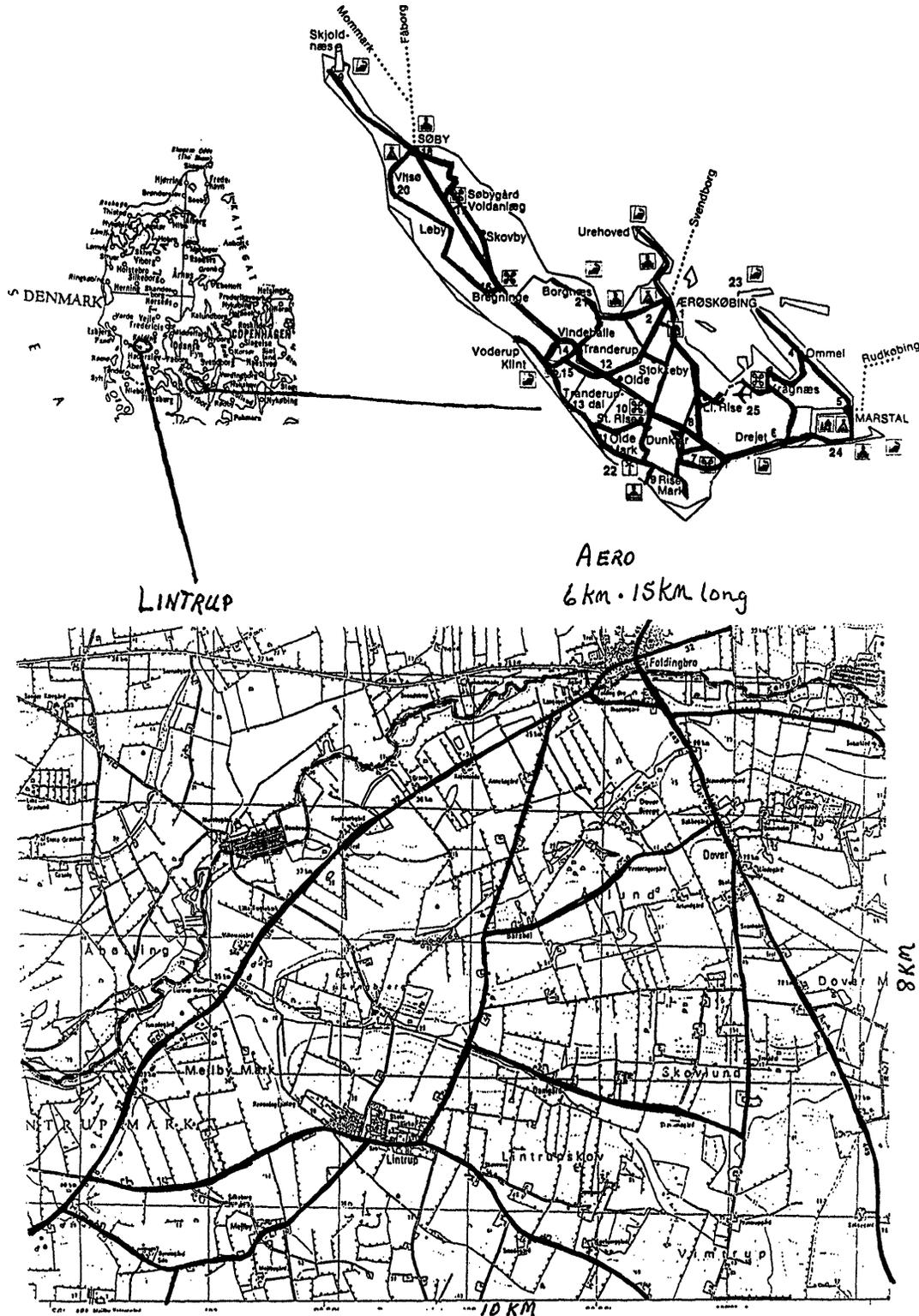


Figure G7. Map Showing Roads Included in Windshield Survey Effort in Denmark.

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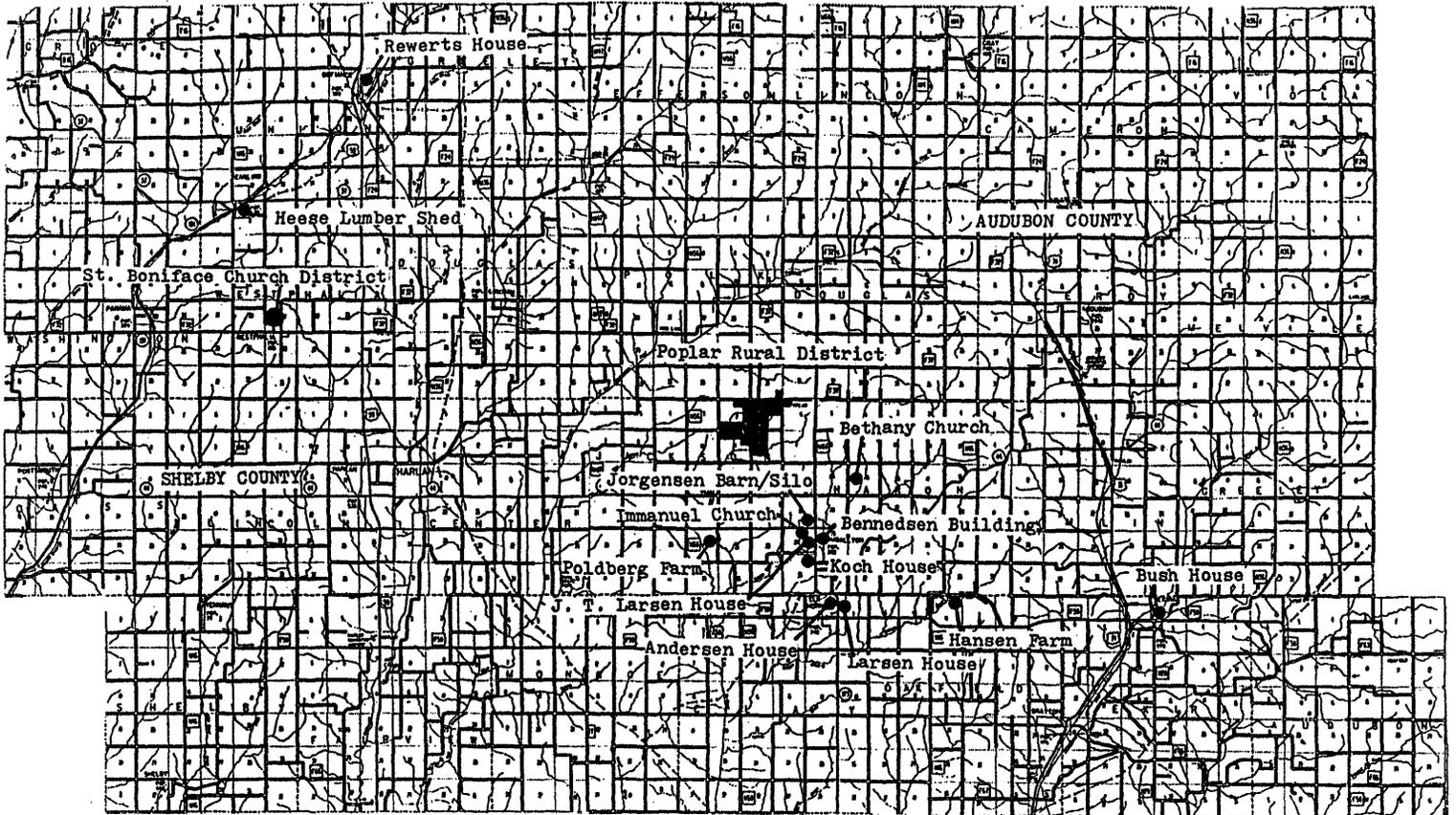


Figure G8. Location of Properties Being Nominated With This Submittal.

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